From Implementation to Impact: Exploring the Theories of Change that Civil Society Organisations Use to Pursue Community Reconciliation

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signed by candidate

Contents

Abstract

The central goal of this thesis is to explore the underlying theories and concepts that help to explain the step-by-step processes and form the foundations of reconciliation-based programmes in Cape Town, South Africa. In theory, civil society organisations (CSOs) have logical rationales of how their project designs lead to some form of reconciliation, but in practice, the links between project activities and project goals are very ambiguous and are seldom articulated in detail. Through empirical research, this thesis provides the explanation and articulation needed to link the goals and outcomes by applying strategies used in "theory of change" (TOC) discourse to two community reconciliation projects in Cape Town: the Community Healing Project housed under the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, and the Healing of Memory workshops housed under the Institute for Healing of Memories.

A TOC framework was first applied to community projects in the 1990s in the United States. The framework was designed to help explain the underlying theories that linked the activities to outcomes of community programmes that were established to tackle social issues on the community level. Seen as a success in explaining these projects, a TOC framework has been applied to several other community organisations, but has not been fully explored outside the Western context. The main goal of this research, then, is to apply a TOC framework to the two case studies and ascertain if it is a helpful tool in explaining community reconciliation interventions.

The rationale for this research stems from the superficial engagement of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in South African communities, which resulted in a lack of healing and reconciliation at the community level. After the completion of the TRC, CSOs filled this gap in reconciliation by designing programmes to facilitate healing and reconciliation within communities. Years into the construction of such reconciliation projects, more information is needed about how the CSOs explain their programmes. The methodology for this research first involves an inductive approach that allows for observations about the activities and intended outcomes that make up the two case studies, then applies a TOC framework that allows for the explanation of the concepts that link the activities and outcomes.

The research concludes that the application of a TOC framework to community reconciliation projects is not only a useful tool in helping to explain how the projects operate, but should be a necessary practice in explaining community reconciliation interventions because of its ability to describe the complicated phenomenon of reconciliation and avoid superficial explanations. By applying a TOC framework, the concepts and theories that lie behind the intervention strategies help to articulate why change happens the way it does.

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Acronyms

CCI - Comprehensive Community Initiatives

CHP - Community Healing Project

HOM - Healing of Memories

IHOM - Institute for the Healing of Memories

IJR - Institute for Justice and Reconciliation

LFA - Logical Framework Approach

NP – National Party

Post-TJ - Post-transitional justice

TJ - Transitional Justice

TOC - Theory of Change

TRC - Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Chapter 1 : Introduction

More than twenty years after the official end of the apartheid, intense debates still continue regarding the extent to which communities in South Africa are reconciled.[1] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) sought to address the legacy created by the apartheid government by operating under a framework that encouraged truth-telling and national healing as a way forward on the "road to reconciliation."[2] While creating a sense of reconciliation was a key goal for the TRC, it is widely criticised for failing to fully achieve this particular goal, especially on the community level. As a result, civil society organisations (CSOs) have worked toward establishing a more solid sense of reconciliation within communities to fill the gap left by the TRC.

The purpose of this study is to ascertain how CSOs have filled-in where the TRC left off in addressing reconciliation at the community level. Specifically, this research explores the methods used by two CSOs in Cape Town to promote community reconciliation, and outlines the strategies, goals and underlying theories that make up the process. For the case studies, I used the Community Healing Project (CHP) which is housed under the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) and the Healing of Memories (HOM) workshops which are housed under the Institute for Healing of Memories (IHOM). The selection process will be explained in detail in Chapter 5.

While the idea of studying community reconciliation processes is not new, the detailed examination of how the processes operate and why specific strategies and activities are chosen is rarely explored in any depth. In theory, organisations have logical rationales regarding how their reconciliation processes contribute to some form of community reconciliation, but the actual underlying theory that helps to explain the link between project implementation and project impact is seldom analysed. I argue that while most reconciliation-based organisations have the knowledge to design and implement programmes that work to achieve some sense of

[1] van der Merwe, Hugo, et al. 2016. "Truth, re-dress and reconciliation: evaluating transitional justice from below" in K. Lefko-Everett, R. Govender and D. Foster (eds) in upcoming South African Reconciliation Barometer book project. Under review with HSRC Press, Pretoria.

[2] Truth and Reconciliation Commission. 1998. "Chapter 5: Concepts and Principles" in *Truth and Reconciliation of South Africa Report, Volume One.*

reconciliation, the theories and concepts that undergird their practices are often under-articulated. This research addresses that gap by using the two CSO case studies, making observations about their practices, and then applying a theory of change (TOC) model that helps to explain the different concepts and theories behind the steps of a community reconciliation process. This TOC framework has been used to help understand community interventions as they relate to community development projects, but they have not yet been used in efforts to explain community reconciliation project implementation, and are rarely used to understand community initiatives that take place in the global South. One key goal of this research is to examine the applicability and practicality of using a TOC model to explain such community reconciliation processes.

By examining the TOC and intervention strategies CSOs use, this research will clarify how CSOs make sense of community reconciliation and how their processes and implementation methods can lead to their desired outcomes and impacts. Another goal of this research is to determine whether a TOC framework provides a helpful tool for explaining the process that occurs between implementation and impact. This clarity will not only be beneficial for the organisations that hope to achieve a given outcome, but also for broader theoretical development of community-level transitional justice mechanisms. It provides insight about the theories, and concepts that comprise community reconciliation interventions.

By conducting this research, I find that the application of a TOC framework to community reconciliation projects highlights the complicated phenomenon of reconciliation and reminds us that it is not a simplistic process. By applying a TOC framework, the concepts and theories that lie behind the intervention strategies help to articulate why change happens the way it does. This benefit of using a TOC lens to shed light on community reconciliation intervention methods adds to scholarship in the fields of community reconciliation and theory development.

Research Questions and Research Design

The research design and research questions will be explored in significant detail in the methodology section in Chapter 5, but it is important to provide an overview of the research here. Three central questions guide this research:

1. How do the case studies make sense of community reconciliation and what strategies are used to achieve their intended outcomes?

2. What questions does a TOC framework ask of community reconciliation intervention and how are the processes discursively mapped?

3. Is applying a TOC framework a useful tool for understanding community reconciliation projects?

In effort to answer the questions, I used an inductive process which involved a thorough examination of the two CSOs. To best evaluate the first question, I used the qualitative research strategies of key informant interviews and document analysis to explore their conceptualisations of reconciliation and to understand the details of their programmes. A TOC framework was then combined with the organisations' reconciliation interventions to evaluate the second and third question.

Thesis Structure

The research is organised in the following way. First, in Chapter 2, I provide background information about the apartheid and the resulting legacy for South African society today, especially as it pertains to the community context. As explained in the chapter, the apartheid had resulted in different legacies for individuals and communities than it did on the national context. Often when examining the apartheid, the national level becomes the focus and the specific legacies for other levels of society are ignored. Chapter 2 sheds light in effort to fill that gap in apartheid-based research. Similarly, Chapter 2 also contains an overview of the TRC and its outcomes with an emphasis on the TRC's engagement (or lack thereof) on the community level. Similar to apartheid history in general, the TRC's effects on the community level are often overlooked. Lastly, I provide a framework in which this research is based – that of post-transitional justice. While some scholars refer to post-transitional justice as the actual justice measures that take place after a transition, I interpret post-transitional justice to mean the time period after the formal transitional justice mechanism occurred. In the South African context, this would be the time period that followed the duration of the TRC.

Chapter 3 explores the concept of reconciliation, in general, and community reconciliation, more specifically. Since much debate exists regarding the definition and interpretations of reconciliation on both the national and community levels, I devote several paragraphs outlining the debate before providing the conceptualisation of community reconciliation that is used for this research. I find that three characteristics of reconciliation were common in the reconciliation literature: a mutual understanding between people and a

recognition of humanity in each other; a reconnection or reformation of relationships; and the idea that reconciliation should emphasise the process rather than the product. I provide a working definition used for this research that encapsulates all of those characteristics. Additionally, Chapter 3 provides examples of community reconciliation processes that take place in several other countries, as a point of comparison for the reconciliation processes that take place at the two CSOs chosen in Cape Town.

The theory of change framework is outlined in detail in Chapter 4. The first part of the chapter stresses why a TOC approach is important, provides background information on what a TOC approach is, and includes a discussion of strengths and weaknesses of a TOC framework. The second part of the chapter explains what the TOC framework looks like in practice by explaining the two key aspects of a TOC approach: the underlying theoretical nature and the practical nature. An illustration of what an ideal TOC model would look like is mapped out in Figure 4.2, which is then applied to the case studies in Chapter 6.

Chapter 5 is devoted to an explanation of the methodology used. As discussed previously, the methodology relies on a qualitative inductive approach to answer the research questions. The methodology section includes an in-depth discussion of the research questions, case studies, research setting, and research design. Additionally, Chapter 5 ends with a discussion of the ethical considerations and research limitations as they are applicable to this study.

The full explanation of the case studies can be found in Chapter 6. The CHP and the HOM workshops are fully articulated and thorough attention is given to the context, vision, and target of each project. Most significantly, the CHP and the HOM workshops are broken down into several long-term goals, with each long-term goal getting a full programme model outline and a TOC model outline, resulting in examples of how a programme model can be complemented by a TOC model. The programme models mapped for each long-term goal include a detailed explanation of the implementation methods. The TOC models for each long-term goal include a clear articulation of the short-term and medium-term goals identified, that are results of the chosen activities, as well as the theories that link the goals. Each theory or concept is explained in detail. Additionally, each project has an overall TOC model that provides an overview of the process.

Chapter 7 contains a discussion of the project findings. In addition to providing a general overview, the chapter is broken down according to each research question and the evidence

found to answer each question. The discussion includes information about how the findings help academics and practitioners understand how reconciliation projects are shaped by the post-transitional context. Chapter 7 ends with identified project limitations and recommendations for future research, and overall conclusions for this research.

Chapter 2 : The Apartheid Past and Post-Transitional Justice

Introduction

Before starting the exploration of the research questions, it is crucial to explain the historical and current context on which this research is based. The first section in this chapter provides background information on South African history that will aid in understanding the concepts mentioned in future chapters. It briefly outlines the formational years of the apartheid and subsequently explains key moments during the half-century of white minority rule. Most notably, the first section explains the specific ramifications the apartheid had on the community level in South Africa. While common knowledge posits the apartheid as a national political struggle between black and white South Africans, the unique ways in which the apartheid affected the community structures deviates from this racial and political struggle. The ongoing systemic oppression caused interpersonal conflict between neighbours, a breakdown of community networks, the vast spread of misinformation, and the lack of overall trust between one another. Not only does the explanation of the effects of the apartheid on the community level provide key information about specific needs communities have for reconciliation as mentioned in subsequent chapters, but it also adds to the minimal existing literature on the topic.

The second section of this chapter explains the formation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and identifies a few key characteristics. Due to the vast amount of existing scholarship on the TRC, this section aims to cover only the most pertinent information as related to this research and focuses specifically on the community level engagement of the TRC. It also outlines a common critique found in existing literature regarding the involvement (or lack thereof) of the TRC at the community level. While ultimately agreeing that the TRC's community engagement was lacklustre, this chapter argues that the TRC's involvement was an important first step in initiating locally driven reconciliation processes; two such processes are the focus of this research and are explained fully in Chapter 6.

Finally, this chapter examines the current context of South Africa and postulates that the country is in a post-transitional justice (post-TJ) phase. I identify this as a phase where the formal transitional justice (TJ) mechanism is completed (i.e. the TRC), and the country has started implementing democratic mechanisms (e.g. free and fair elections), but it has not quite matured into its fully-functioning democratic adulthood and is still in need of reconciliatory processes to address the legacies of the past. This post-TJ phase has a unique set of

characteristics as evidenced by the current political and social climate in South Africa, including changed lines of division and evolving priorities. As such, this frame is important to understand before identifying the current reconciliatory goals (as done in the following chapters), since the current climate influences what those goals might be. Additionally, this unique post-transition period is not adequately covered in existing literature, especially relative to the immense research that has been done on the different TJ mechanisms in the actual transition period.

Apartheid-Past

The historical context of the apartheid is well documented and analysed, and as a result, will not require in-depth explanation in this research.[3] However, a brief description of the past, with emphasis on community-level nuances is necessary before moving on to examine the current context.

The National Party (NP), the political organisation that advanced white dominance-oriented goals, came to power in 1948 and passed a series of acts limiting basic freedoms of non-white South Africans, officially marking the beginning of the apartheid era.[4] While formally beginning in 1948, discrimination and systematic oppression against black South Africans had been happening for centuries. Beginning with the dehumanising experiences of slavery and colonisation, South African society has privileged the superior white population and has marginalised and exploited the inferior black population.[5] This oppressive hierarchy laid the foundations for the justification of apartheid. Beyond the various "legal" acts passed by the NP, the party was also responsible for condoning gross human rights violations throughout South Africa. In 1960, the human rights violations drew international attention due to the events that took place in Sharpeville, now known as the Sharpeville Massacre, in which 69 protestors were killed. These events not only awakened the international community, but also led to the formation of armed wings of other political parties, further escalating widespread violence. The gross human rights violations that occurred in the three decades following the Sharpeville

[3] For a thorough synopsis of Apartheid-era and post-apartheid history, see Eric Wiebelhaus-Brahm's *Truth Commissions and Transitional Societies: The Impact of Human Rights and Democracy* and Alex Boraine's chapter entitled Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: The Third Way in Rotberg and Thompson (eds.) *Truth v Justice: The Morality of Truth Commissions.*

[4] Acts included the Group Areas Act, the Bantu Education Act, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, amongst others.

[5] Rucell, Jessica. 2011. "Transitional Justice and South Africa: Exploring Healing from Legacies of Violence." *International Institute of Social Studies*. Unpublished thesis. 3

Massacre led to the death of at least 18,000 people, the detainment of approximately 80,000, and the torture of an estimated 6,000.[6]

Besides the widespread physical violence, the apartheid system perpetuated and relied upon creating social injustices. As Charles Villa-Vicencio writes, "apartheid was grounded in material deprivation, social humiliation, naked racism, and dehumanization."[7] Alex Boraine echoes those sentiments by writing that under apartheid, "a structure of domination was enforced that was not only a denial of basic political rights but a systematic piece of social engineering that embraced every area of life from birth to death."[8] While the threat of human rights violations has diminished in the current political climate, these deeply engrained social injustices are still very much apparent today.[9]

While the events leading up to and occurring during the apartheid depict the conflict as an issue as one predominately on the national-level, the ramifications of the apartheid on the local level should not be ignored. When conflict occurs at the national level, it trickles down to the community and individual level. It manifests itself in ways different from that depicted by the macro-narrative. In South Africa, for example, the macro-narrative framed the conflict as a political struggle involving a black versus white dichotomy, but in the communities, the issues revolved around distrust between neighbours, a breakdown of community networks, and the vast spread of misinformation. Because communities were segregated by race, this meant that local conflicts were not between black South Africans versus white South Africans, but instead between neighbours who shared the same race. Individuals were not sure if their neighbours were working for the police or serving as informants for the NP; this uncertainty about who to trust became a daily reality for individuals.[10] Van der Merwe writes that "when the broader conflict in a society manifests itself at the local level, it impacts on the social fabric of that community...this sense of trust and connectedness of people, their independence, and sense of

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[6]Wiebelhaus-Brahm, Eric. 2010. *Truth Commissions and Transitional Societies: The Impact of Human Rights and Democracy.* New York: Routledge.

[7] Villa-Vicencio, Charles. 2009. *Walk With Us and Listen: Political Reconciliation in Africa.* Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press. 96-97

[8] Boraine, Alex. 2000. "Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: The Third Way" in R. Rotberg and D. Thompson (eds.) *Truth v Justice: The Morality of Truth Commissions.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 141

[9] van der Merwe, Hugo. 2001. "National and Community Reconciliation: Competing Agendas in the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission" in N. Biggar (ed.) *Burying the Past: Making Peace and Doing Justice after Civil Conflict*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

[10] Ibid.

community is severely undermined" which "can have an impact on the relationships within families, among neighbours, and between local leadership and their followers."[11] Even beyond the end of the apartheid, community members remained suspicious about levels of involvement of others in the same community. As discussed in the next section, what was needed to achieve a sense of reconciliation between the national level and community level was not fully addressed by the TRC due to the drastic differences in experiences. This gap serves as the catalyst for the emergence of CSO-based community reconciliation processes that are described in later sections.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Due to increasing internal and external pressure to end the system of apartheid, the system of white domination crumbled, leading to the passage of an interim constitution in 1993 calling for equal representation and free and fair elections for all South Africans to be held the following year. Following the elections, the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act 34 of 1995 was passed and it officially established the TRC. While the idea of a truth commission in South Africa was lauded abroad, the negotiations leading up to the commissions were difficult and caused heated internal debate. On one side, there were individuals and families who had suffered immensely under the apartheid regime and wanted "nothing more and nothing less than trials, prosecutions, and punishment"; on the other side, those who fought for the NP and participated in perpetuating social and physical injustices advocated for blanket amnesty.[12] As a compromise, the TRC was tasked with listening to both victims and perpetrators of apartheid, and subsequently allowing perpetrators to apply for conditional amnesty and avoid prosecution. Conditional amnesty meant that perpetrators would not be criminally charged if they testified to the TRC about the acts in which they participated during apartheid and provided the full truth and specifics about the acts. Additionally, only those who committed crimes for political reasons would be eligible for amnesty. In return, victims would be able to tell their versions of the truth, and be part of a reparations programme established by the South African government.[13]

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[11] van der Merwe, Hugo. 1999. The TRC and Community Reconciliation: An Analysis of Competing Strategies and Conceptualisations. Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, George Madison University, Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution. 80.

[12] Boraine, 2000: 149

[13] To note, the TRC report distinguishes four types of truth: factual or forensic, personal or narrative, social or dialogue, and healing or restorative.

Because of the incredible number of South Africans who were victimised by perpetrators of apartheid, the TRC limited its definition of victimhood to apply only to those who were victims of gross human rights violations between the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960 and the 1994 democratic elections. Even with this limitation, the TRC received written statements from more than 21,000 victims, most of whom were deemed to have suffered at least one human rights violation, and 2,000 of those individuals were selected to testify publically.[14] Approximately 7,100 perpetrators sought amnesty, but roughly 5,100 of those applicants were dismissed because they were outside of the scope of the TRC mandate.[15] In the end, 1,674 perpetrators were allowed public hearings, and only, 1,312 got full or partial amnesty. Ultimately, the TRC recommended 800 prospective cases to the National Prosecution Agency for future investigation and potential prosecution.

One of the biggest criticisms of the TRC is the lack of local involvement and overall focus on the reconciliation needs of the community. Arguably, the main reason evident in the literature for this criticism is because victims were limited to include only those who were victims of gross human rights violations. Those who were victims of other types of violence were precluded from participating in TRC hearings. Since the local conflict dynamics differed from the national context, as described previously, the majority of South Africans were not victims of gross human rights violations in the name of political motivations, but rather experienced the everyday structural violence of apartheid.[16] For example, in Katorus, an area of townships outside of Johannesburg, one of the major consequences of violence was the extent to which houses and property were damaged. This category of crimes would not fall into a broader TRC gross human rights violations mandate, but was one of the biggest issues that needed to be addressed on a community level.[17] Consequently, even though the TRC originally focused on reconciliation on the individual, community, and national levels, it began to realise the limits of accomplishing that goal and ultimately prioritised national political reconciliation over

[14] Backer, David. 2010. "Watching a Bargain Unravel? A Panel Study of Victims' Attitudes about Transitional Justice in Cape Town, South Africa." *The International Journal of Transitional Justice*. 4(2010): 443-456.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Mamdani, Mahmood. 2002. "Amnesty or Impunity? A Preliminary Critique of the Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa (TRC)." *Diacritics*. 32(3/4): 38
[17] Ibid., 216.

community reconciliation.[18] Resultantly, as Valji argues, the TRC ignored the violent experiences of those who had stories

> "of bulldozers that came in the middle of the night to destroy homes and possessions and dump them in the middle of nowhere under the logic of forced removals; of the education system which was designed to equip Africans to be no more than 'hewers of wood and drawers of water'; of a migrant labour system which tore families apart; and of a racially-based wage structure which by 1993 had led to whites being paid ten times that of the average African worker."[19]

Despite this criticism, however, it would be unfair to argue that the TRC did not try. On the contrary, the TRC did attempt to engage on the community level, albeit rather unsuccessfully. Civil society organisations (CSOs) lobbied TRC commissioners to acknowledge local reconciliation processes and local issues, and in an attempt to appease them and place emphasis on community concerns, eighty community hearings took place across the country. By doing this, however, Van der Merwe argues that "the TRC spread itself very thinly, trying to cover as many communities as possible."[20] Ultimately, the TRC's community engagement took place on a superficial level as not much time was spent working in the communities before or after each hearing.[21] As a result, the TRC "distanced itself from civil society organisations that had been aligned with the antiapartheid movement" leaving a large support base dissatisfied.[22]Because CSOs were not happy with the lack of adequate engagement, they filled the gap left in the communities by eventually creating their own reconciliation-based programmes. Two of these programmes will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

Some scholars argue that even though the TRC did not fully achieve reconciliatory satisfaction on the community level, the initial engagement laid the groundwork for reconciliation processes to develop in the future.[23] The TRC can be credited for bringing "out the various viewpoints, values, needs, and interests and put[ting] them on the table."[24] Additionally, by considering reconciliation work to be process-oriented (as argued in Chapter 3) and involving

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[18] van der Merwe, 2001.
[19] Valji, Nahla. 2003. "South Africa: No Justice Without Reparation." *openDemocracy*. 1 July 2003. np.
[20] van der Merwe, 2001: 93
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid., 103
[23] see, for example, van der Merwe, 2001 and Villa-Vicencio, 2009.
[24] van der Merwe, 2001: 101

multiple steps and stages, the TRC represents the first step of the "longer healing process" and can "be seen as a starting point in the creation of a new culture of storytelling."[25]

Post-Transitional Justice

Now, several years past the end of the TRC and the official transition process, South Africa still has a need for processes to bring about reconciliation. For the purposes of this research, I consider South Africa to be in a *post-transitional justice* phase. I identify this as a phase where the formal transitional justice (TJ) mechanism is completed (i.e. the TRC), and the country has started implementing democratic mechanisms (e.g. free and fair elections), but it has not quite matured into its fully-functioning democratic adulthood and is still in need of reconciliatory processes to address the legacies of the past. This phase adequately reflects the country's current position between reconciling the past and moving on with the future. In this section, I will explain the current transitional justice conversation around the idea of "post-transitional justice" and explain why this post-TJ framework is applicable to the South African context by identifying a unique set of characteristics.

Elin Skaar first used the term "post-transitional justice" in 2002 to identify a set of transitional mechanisms (e.g. prosecutions, truth commissions, etc.) that were implemented past the official period of transition, specifically in South American countries.[26] In Argentina, for example, during the transition period, perpetrators of human rights violations were given amnesty for their crimes which occurred during the period of conflict and state oppression. Now, well into the democratic present in Argentina, former perpetrators are beginning to be prosecuted. Skaar considers these prosecutions to be characterised as post-transitional justice. In other words, Skaar defines post-transitional justice as an occurrence where prosecutions (or other mechanisms) are implemented to address gross human rights violations at least one electoral cycle after democratisation.[27] Cath Collins borrows from Skaar's definition and considers a post-TJ framework as one that "focuses specifically on the continued pursuit of justice for past human

[25] Villa-Vicencio, 2009: 95; van der Merwe, 2001: 101.
[26] Skaar, Elin. 2002. Judicial Independence: A Key to Justice - An Analysis of Latin America in the 1990s. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. University of California, Los Angeles.
[27] Skaar, Elin. 2011. *Judicial Independence and Human Rights in Latin America: Violations, Politics and Prosecution*. New York: Pal-grave MacMillan

rights via legal systems" after a period of democratisation.[28] Both Collins' and Skaar's definitions of post-TJ are very much focused on judicial accountability and addresses issues of impunity of human rights violators after a transition. This judicial-oriented definition has dominated much of the post-TJ literature. For the purposes of this research, I conceptualise post-transitional justice in a different way. Whereas Collins and Skaar, amongst others, consider post-TJ to mean the implementation of *justice measures* after a transition, I conceptualise post-TJ to mean a *period of time* after the official TJ mechanism takes place (e.g. after the official duration of truth commissions or prosecutions). I argue that this post-TJ conceptualisation and framework is important for three reasons.

First, much of the transitional justice literature focuses on the actual transition process, or the "transitional moment," as Gready and Robins call it, and fails to address the future consequences and the changing priorities.[29] The disregard of future consequences, combined with the romanticisation of the transitional period, leads to the failure to "come to grips with the political roots and socioeconomic basis of 'post-conflict' crime."[30] The purview of a transitional period, while acknowledged to be a long-term process, is often conceptualised to take place within the span of just a few years. A long-term perspective, however, is crucial to the study of transitional justice, even after the transitional mechanism is complete because transitions often "happen in bouts or waves, as new generations come of age and as the international context changes."[31] Shaw and Waldorf call for TJ literature to look "beyond a single short-term 'transition' and [invest] in the long term."[32]

I advance the idea, that practically, a country's transitional period can be seen on a continuum and does not necessarily involve a concrete moment in time, beginning point, or end

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[28] Collins, Cath. 2010. *Post-Transitional Justice: Human Rights Trials in Chile and El Salvador.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2-3.

[29] Gready, Paul and Simon Robins. 2014. From Transitional to Transformative Justice: A New Agenda for Practice. *International Journal of Transitional Justice*. 8(3): 339-361.

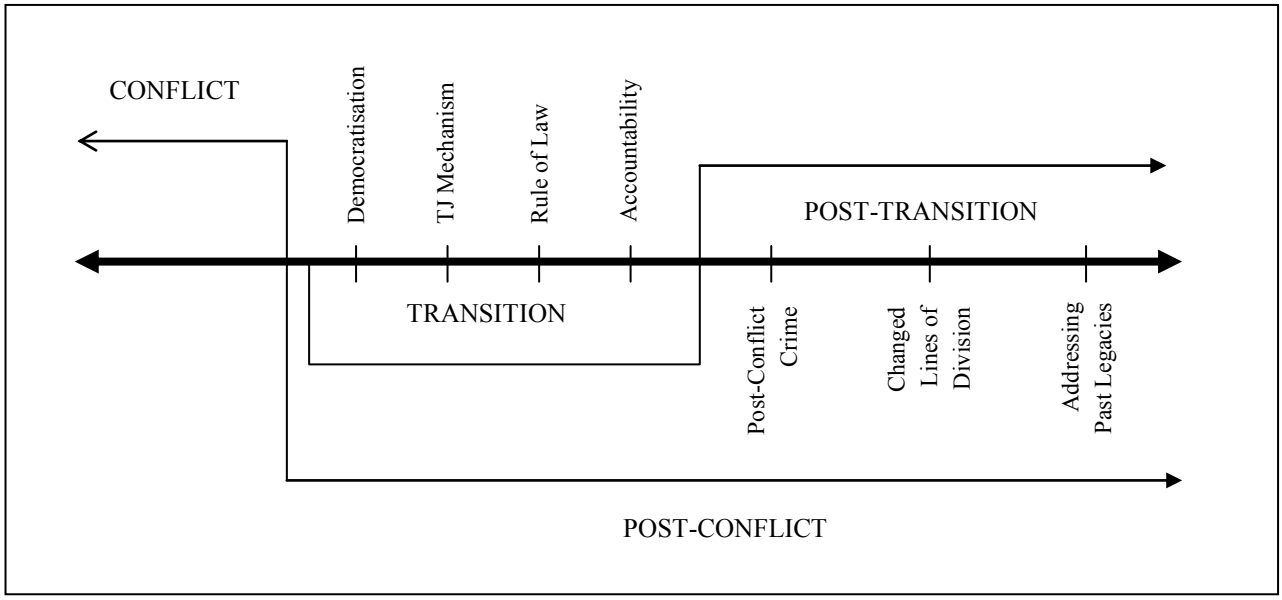
[30] van der Merwe, Hugo. 2009. "Delivering Justice During Transition: Research Challenges." in H. van der Merwe, et al. (eds.) *Assessing the Impact of Transitional Justice: Challenges for Empirical Research.* Washington, D.C: USIP Press. 118.

[31] Roht-Arriaza, Naomi. 2006. "The New Landscape of Transitional Justice" in N. Roht-Arriaza and J. Mariezcurrena (eds.) *Transitional Justice in the Twenty-First Century: Beyond Truth versus Justice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 13.

[32] Shaw, Rosalind and Lars Waldorf. 2010. Introduction: Localizing Transitional Justice." in R. Shaw, et al. (eds.) *Localizing Transitional Justice: Interventions and Priorities after Mass Violence*. Standford: Standford University Press.13.

point. As illustrated in Figure 2.1, on one side of the continuum is the conflict, followed by a period of transition, followed by the post-transition period.

Figure 2.1: The Post-Conflict Continuum



The transition period can be broken into several parts, including democratisation, the implementation of the justice mechanism, gaining interest in the rule of law, and post-conflict accountability. The post-transition period includes characteristics like post-conflict crime (as mentioned by Van der Merwe previously), changed lines of divisions (discussed below), and the ongoing need to address past legacies. While the transition phase focused on macro-level issues like creating national unity, establishing a democracy, and addressing human rights violations, the post-transition phase is characterised by lack of equal service delivery, 'everyday' crime, access to education, police and citizen relations, and structural race and class issues. This idea of a time period whereby countries are finished with their official transitional justice processes but are not quite fully functioning democracies and are still struggling with issues that happened before the transition, especially in the South Africa context, is not a concept which is fully explored in the literature.

A second reason that this post-TJ framework is applicable is because of the changing priorities and lines of division that take place after the transitional moment. As Aguilar writes, "the institutional arrangements established during a transition do not always exert such a decisive

influence on the future scope of transitional justice measures" and that "institutional agreements, in spite of the unquestionable inertias they generate, may eventually undergo modifications over time."[33] Furthermore, when conflict is considered to be a national issue, specific issues within communities are often ignored and linger past the official settlement of conflict on a national scale. Violence still occurs at the community even after a successful transition level due to the high level of structural violence that is usually a consequence of a long-lasting national conflict. Moreover, the ways in which communities are affected are always changing, and conventional transitional justice reconciliation mechanisms do not account for the new forms and causes of conflict. Because post-conflict contexts are ever changing and multi-dimensional, the field of transitional justice is in need of a framework to address those changes in a post-transition setting.

Additionally, this post-TJ framework is crucial because of the importance of the local issues in a post-transition context since local issues are often overlooked in the actual period of transitional justice. Collins describes that a shift from the national focus to the local focus is a sign that a country is moving away from the main transitional phase to the post-transitional phase.[34] The phenomenon of post-transitional justice has "been largely non-state, driven by private actions operating both 'above' and 'below' the state."[35] Because post-transitional justice is often led by local organisations and driven by local priorities, the local context needs to be examined in depth. This research bridges together the frame of post-TJ and current reconciliatory work in South Africa. This connection helps to understanding the unique set of characteristics and the unique time period in which South Africa exists today.

Conclusion

This chapter provided background information about the apartheid and gave prioritisation to the explanation of the community-level effects. These unique community effects include interpersonal conflict between neighbours, a breakdown of community networks, the vast spread of misinformation, and the lack of overall trust between one another. Additionally, this chapter explained the formation of the TRC and the gaps that it left with regard to addressing community needs. This information about the apartheid and the TRC is important because it shows gaps in

[33] Aguilar, Paloma. 2008. "Transitional or Post-transitional Justice? Recent Developments in the Spanish Case." *South European Societies and Politics*. 13(4): 418.
[34] Collins, 2010: 22
[35] Ibid.

addressing the specific reconciliation needs at the community level. Two current programmes operating in the Cape Town area that filled these gaps are explained in detail in Chapter 6. Furthermore, this chapter outlined a post-TJ framework that describes the current situation in South Africa and provides a way to discuss and examine the changing priorities, lines of divisions, and reconciliation needs of South Africa today.

Chapter 3 : Community Reconciliation

Introduction

Before exploring what different CSOs do in the reconciliation programmes, it is crucial to ascertain what is meant by the term "reconciliation." While often considered a transitional justice "fuzzword," reconciliation is a key concept in the transitional justice field, and even though a single agreed-upon definition does not exist, several scholars and practitioners overlap in their conceptualisation of the term. As this chapter shows, however, priority should not be placed upon finding one overarching definition, but rather ensuring that reconciliation is clearly defined and conceptualised in *each context*, including deciphering between the conceptualisations at a national and community context.

The goal of this chapter is threefold. First, it provides critical insight into the current discussion regarding the definition of reconciliation by showing the different conceptualisations that leading scholars and practitioners in the field use to define the term. Since much debate exists regarding the definition and interpretations of reconciliation (on both the national and community levels), I devote several paragraphs outlining the debate. Second, based on the definitions of reconciliation, I will provide the framework for how reconciliation will be conceptualised for this research. This conceptualisation, while broad, illustrates three characteristics that are relevant for a sense of healing at the community level, and applicable to the understanding of community reconciliation in both the CSO reconciliation projects outlined in this research. These characteristics involve: a mutual understanding between people or at least a recognition of humanity in the other; a reconnection or reformation of relationships; and the idea that reconciliation should emphasise the process rather than the product. Lastly, this chapter will explore examples of local-level reconciliation processes that are being used in other contexts to address the lasting legacies of violence at the community level. These examples move beyond the abstract understanding of reconciliation by showing how the conceptual ideas can be applied in practice.

Defining Reconciliation

The specific connotations of "reconciliation" can be different depending on the context, the conflict, and the individual. There are many different interpretations of reconciliation, varying from abstract conceptualisations to criteria-based definitions and from reductionist

interpretations to complex and multidimensional interpretations. For example, Chapman, and Hamber and Kelly, agree that the process of achieving reconciliation involves a variety of interwoven criteria. These criteria include the creation of a shared vision of society, an acknowledgement of the past, a focus on building positive relationships, and the establishment of significant levels of social, economic and political change.[36] Conversely, Gibson acknowledges that simpler definitions are acceptable and writes that when people think about reconciliation, "they often mean nothing more than people of different races getting along better" and a simple "diminution of racial animosities."[37] The South African Reconciliation Barometer takes yet a different approach and divides reconciliation into six categories: political culture, political relations, human security, dialogue, historical confrontation, and social relations.[38] Additionally, in his comprehensive work on reconciliation, van der Merwe identifies different components of reconciliation (truth, justice, remorse, and safety), different spheres (identity, values, attitudes, and behaviour) and different levels (interpersonal, community, and national).[39] Similarly, Lederach has four components of reconciliation: peace, truth, justice and mercy. Furthermore, different disciplines have different interpretations of reconciliation. Those from a theological, philosophical or ethics-based perspective would argue that reconciliation is a "process of developing shared values and building a moral community."[40] Those from the social-psychological perspective would argue that reconciliation has a more internal and individualistic nature, since they believe reconciliation is predominately an attitudinal change; peace studies experts would argue that reconciliation is about confronting the past in order to create a better future, both on a community level and on an individual level.[41] Not only is the definition of reconciliation different across different disciplines, but it also varies between different contexts.

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[36] Chapman, Audrey. 2009. "Approaches to Studying Reconciliation" in H. van der Merwe, et al. (eds.) *Assessing the Impact of Transitional Justice: Challenges for Empirical Research.* USIP Press, Washington DC; and Hamber, Brandon and Kelly, Grainne. 2009. "Too Deep, Too Threatening: Understandings of Reconciliation in Northern Ireland," in H. van der Merwe, et al. (eds.) *Assessing the Impact of Transitional Justice: Challenges for Empirical Research*, USIP Press, Washington DC.

[37] Gibson, James. 2004. Does Truth Lead to Reconciliation? Testing the Casual Assumptions of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Process. *American Journal of Political Science.* 48(2): 202-204

[38] Wale, Kim. 2014. "South African Reconciliation Barometer Survey - 2014 Report: Reflecting On Reconciliation Lessons from the Past, Prospects for the Future." *Institute for Justice and Reconciliation*.

[39] van der Merwe, Hugo. 1999. The TRC and Community Reconciliation: An Analysis of Competing Strategies and Conceptualisations. Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, George Madison University, Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution.

[40] Chapman, 2009: 147

[41] Ibid., 148

Hamber and Kelly write that the term has different connotations and priorities in Northern Ireland than it does in the South African context. While in the latter, the "reconciliation agenda" perhaps ignored socioeconomic issues and fixated on building relationships, the former perhaps ignored the relationship-building aspect and focused on socioeconomic topics.[42] McIntosh, in writing about reconciliation in Rwanda likens the reconciliatory process to a board game with multiple players. He writes:

> "many moves are happening simultaneously, pushing some of the pieces closer to the finish and others further apart and sometimes off the board. The rules are not clear, often being made as the game proceeds. At certain times, one can move freely but at others, movement is restricted. We know that winning the game is not simply a matter of linear progression from one side of the board to the other...Agendas change over time (as do the rules of engagement), and priorities are reordered in the light of new experiences."[43]

This extended metaphor shows the difficulty for one to grasp clearly what reconciliation means and shows that even if the process of achieving reconciliation is clear, it could change at any time. Clearly, the basic notions behind the idea of reconciliation run the gamut depending on when, where and to whom the question is asked.

Thus, generally speaking, there is no one unifying consensus that defines reconciliation.[44] Some scholars consider the lack of unifying interpretation to be a cause for concern and argue that reaching agreement about the meaning of reconciliation is vital to prevent further academic buzzwords and jargon. Weinstein, for example, is very critical of the lack of concrete definition; he warns that "adopting buzzwords that have no consistent definition or conceptual clarity and promoting mechanisms to achieve these obscure outcomes" is detrimental because it creates poor policy making and a poor understanding of transitional justice.[45] While Weinstein critiques the lack of definition, van der Merwe argues that having one idea of what reconciliation means is actually problematic. He writes that "rather than to search for an ideal model of reconciliation" scholars should look to the "different meanings that the term is given by different groupings in a

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[42] Hamber and Kelly, 2009: 289

[43] McIntosh, Ian. 2013. "A Creative Approach to Measuring Reconciliation in Rwanda." *Conflict Trends*. 2013(1): 37

[44] Daly, Eric and Jeremy Sarkin. 2007. *Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

[45] Weinstein, Harvey. 2011. "Editorial Note: The Myth of Closure, the Illusion of Reconciliation: Final Thoughts on Five Years as Co-Editor-in-Chief." *International Journal of Transitional Justice*. 5(1): 3

conflict situation."[46] This allows for an ideological opening which can be filled by the policymakers and practitioners themselves in any given context. In fact, he warns that without the space for different conceptualisations of reconciliation, the "danger that the definition and practice of reconciliation at one level may be assumed to have the same meaning as it does at other levels" has a risk of isolating and marginalising people with different needs and agendas for reconciliation.[47] Additionally, Hamber and Kelly argue that it is not just "how we define 'reconciliation' that matter[s] but also how we explain and use the concept."[48] This research aligns with the idea that it is not as important to come up with one, overarching definition, but rather ensuring that the way in which we use reconciliation in different contexts is thoroughly articulated.

Conceptualization of Reconciliation for this Research

Despite the overall lack of consensus, a review of the literature finds that most scholars can agree that the term "reconciliation" connotes three things: a mutual understanding and recognition of humanity in the other; reconnection or reformation of relationships; and the implication that reconciliation is more of a process rather than a product. These three characteristics provide a broad framework in which reconciliation can be understood - and provide a starting point for how reconciliation will be understood for this research.

First, a mutual understanding between people, or a mere recognition of a shared humanity in the other, is a common characteristic of reconciliation that is represented in the academic literature. For Gibson, this means interracial understanding and the idea that all races will accept other races as equal.[49] Paul Murphy, the former Secretary of State for Northern Ireland argues that the "essence of reconciliation is about moving away from relationships that are built on mistrust…to relationships rooted in mutual recognition."[50] Beyond mutual understanding and mutual recognition, this characteristic also encompasses the possibility of developing mutual trust. Conceptualising community reconciliation to include developing mutual trust is crucial because of the complicated way in which trust is broken down on the community level, as explained in Chapter 2. Because individuals were not sure if their neighbours were working for

[46] van der Merwe, 1999: 2
[47] Ibid., 2
[48] Hamber and Kelly, 2009: 288
[49] Gibson, 2004
[50] Hamber and Kelly, 2008: 277

the police, the uncertainty about who to trust became a daily reality for individuals. Framing community reconciliation in a way that addresses issues of trust is vital. Additionally, this characteristic involves exploring how individuals are alike and share a common humanity.[51] Humanity is more than just accepting one another, but implies that a recognition of the other means that the other has a fundamental right to exist; individuals that caused harm have the right to be re-humanised. This characteristic shows the importance of accepting one another as humans and forms the prerequisite, or sort of precondition, for moving along the reconciliation process.

Second, many scholars write that reconciliation work involves establishing, or re-establishing, a connection between enemies or a reformation of relationships. Weintsein and Stover understand reconciliation to mean "people re-forming prior connections, both instrumental and affective, across ethnic, racial or religious lines."[52] Lederach also advocates for reconciliation to involve the rebuilding of relationships, and to encourage those who live in the same communities as each other to become "humans-in-relationship."[53] This can range from neighbours "reestablishing harmony" with one another to larger groups working together to put communities back together after conflict.[54] This implies that part of repairing relationships might also require restoring community structures and (re) establishing a sense of community. This characteristics moves beyond just the recognition of the other to (re)forming a respectful connection between groups and individuals.

Third, while reconciliation was at one point primarily used to indicate an end goal (as in, a reconciled society), the majority of scholars now believe reconciliation to be more of a process. While some in the field still advocate that reconciliation can be both a goal and a process, other scholars consider the process of achieving a more reconciled community and a sense of healing

[51] Staub, Ervin and Laurie Anne Pearlman. 2001. "Healing, Reconciliation, and Forgiving after Genocide and Other Collective Violence." in R.G. Helmick and R.L. Petersen (eds.), *Forgiveness and Reconciliation: Religion, Public Policy, and Conflict Transformation*. Radnor: Templeton Foundation Press. 214

[52] Stover, Eric and Harvey Weinstein. 2004. *My Neighbor, My Enemy: Justice and Community in the Aftermath of Mass Atrocity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 4.

[53] Lederach, John. 1997. *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace. 24.

[54] Chapman, 2009; Galtung, Johan. 2001. "After Violence, Reconstruction, Reconciliation, and Resolution." in M. Abu-Nimer (ed.) *Reconcilation, Justice, and Coexistence: Theory and Practice*. Lanham: Lexington Books. 24

to be the most important.[55] This process involves a kind of path that communities and individuals in need of reconciliation can take.[56] This path first requires a withdrawal to safety, then the ability to share stories and engage in truth-telling, and then the building of a new framework of meaning and identity of others. Van der Merwe articulates that reconciliation can be considered a movement on a spectrum from one end, necessarily negative, to another end, necessarily positive.[57] Others acknowledge the idea of a spectrum on which reconciliation occurs, but some see the positive end as total forgiveness while others see it as minimal coexistence.[58] This notion of reconciliation as a process provides an important framework for the way in which reconciliation is understood in this research, since it focuses on the stages of change that individuals and communities experience as they move from less reconciled to more reconciled. Chapter 4 explains more about the process of reconciliation and the stages of change involved in a reconciliatory process. It is important to note that outcomes are also important when discussing reconciliation, but too much of a focus will overshadow the significant changes that happen during the process, like belief, norm, and ideal changes.[59]

By combining different interpretations of academics and practitioners and placing emphasis on the three aforementioned characteristics, I offer the following definition of community reconciliation to be applied in the context of this research:

> *Community reconciliation involves the process of establishing or re-establishing positive relationships between adversaries and creating a sense of trust and mutual understanding between individuals and communities.*

This definition, while not meant to be all-encompassing, describes how community reconciliation will be interpreted for this research and it will be applied when understanding the individual case studies.

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[55] Bloomfield, David and Theresa Barnes and Luc Huyse. 2003. *Reconciliation After Violent Conflict: A Handbook*. Stolkholm: International IDEA; see, for example, Kriesberg, Louis. 2001. "Changing Forms of Coexistence." in M. Abu-Nimer (ed.) *Reconciliation, Justice, and Coexistence: Theory and Practice*. Lanham: Lexington Books. 47-64, van der Merwe, 1999; and Kraybill, Ron. 1996. An Anabaptist Paradigm for Conflict Transformation: Critical Reflections on Peacemaking in Zimbabwe. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Cape Town, amongst others; Galtung, 2001.

[56] Kraybill, 1996

[57] van der Merwe, 1999

[58] Staub and Pearlman, 2001; Kriesberg 2001; Gibson, 2004.

[59] Gienapp, Anne and Jane Reisman and Sarah Stachowiak. 2009. Getting Started: A Self-Directed Guide to Outcome Map Development. Prepared for the Annie C. Casey Foundation.

Community Reconciliation Processes in Practice

This section will bridge the abstract information discussed above and show how community reconciliation processes are applied in different ways in different contexts. Due to the inadequacies of national reconciliation processes (e.g. truth commissions) to address community reconciliation, gaps often exists which CSOs fill to address community needs. The emergence of this gap was is explained in detail in Chapter 2. A brief examination of several different programmes across several countries shows some common trends that are used in processes aimed at achieving community reconciliation. The programmes usually involved a gathering of people affected by conflict and different components of individualised truth telling, storytelling, intergroup dialogue, a drama or external narrative, and a means of educating those present through either direct teaching or facilitation. Additionally, most of the practices reflected traditional methods of resolving conflict in each context.

With regard to truth-telling and storytelling, projects like the Tree of Life in Zimbabwe, Fambul Tok in Sierra Leone, the Healing Through Remembering Project in Northern Ireland, and several community interventions in Rwanda focus on providing spaces for those in need of healing and closure to tell their versions of truth about the past as well as their life stories. By focusing on community and interpersonal healing instead of on national healing, these projects allowed individuals to "talk about *their* distinctive pasts, put their memories on the table...and in so doing facilitate healing."[60] Additionally, the oral storytelling experience is part of cultural richness in different countries.[61] In Northern Ireland, the idea behind storytelling and truth-telling is "whatever you say, say something" and not let silence about personal experience remain.

Intergroup dialogue was also a practice used to promote community reconciliation in various contexts. While based on individuals sharing stories, the premise behind this practice is that individuals listen to others' stories and begin to reframe the way in which they see the other. In Sierra Leone, the Fambul Tok programme encourages intergroup dialogue over reconciliatory ceremonial meals and football games; the Truth Telling Project in the United States uses a 'community conversation' model in which people volunteer to host conversations in their homes to encourage dialogue around divisive issues. Similarly, the Healing Through Remembering Project in Northern Ireland holds conversational workshops that offer a platform for constructive

[60]Hamber, Brandon and Richard Wilson. 2002. "Symbolic Closure Through Memory, Reparation and Revenge in Post-Conflict Societies." *Journal of Human Rights*. 1(1): 37. emphasis in original.
[61]Staub and Pearlman, 2001.

dialogue. The Villages of Hope programme in Rwanda provides an opportunity for Hutus and Tutsis to come together and live in the same villages in order to encourage positive encounters, intergroup interactions and dialogue. As will be discussed in greater detail later, intergroup dialogue encourages others to become familiar with the other in a setting not related to conflict and to build relationships.

A number of programmes also involve the use of art and drama to encourage reconciliation. The Healing Hearts Balkans project in Serbia and Bosnia uses clowns, music and drama to help children overcome trauma and build relationships with one another. Community reconciliation programmes in Rwanda fund soap operas that emphasise reconciliatory themes.

Lastly, another common method was the use of education and facilitation to teach people not only about history, conflict, and reconciliation, but also about how to have positive conversations. The idea is that people who engage in these workshops will become community leaders who advocate for reconciliation. Fambul Tok involves community leaders like religious mentors and elders who have received training in human rights and conflict resolution to oversee reconciliatory processes. Interventions in Rwanda involve leadership courses, conflict management courses, and training resources which educate others about reconciliation. In the Tree of Life project, facilitators are survivors who have been trained in conflict resolution and reconciliation methods. The idea is that educating people about conflict promotes "healing and help[s] them use the understanding[s] they have gained for breaking the cycle of past violence."[62] The community conversations as part of the Truth Telling Project in the United States uses the conversations not only as places for dialogue, but also as a platform for educating participants about the issues.

The methods used in the aforementioned community processes share the basic three characteristics of reconciliation described above: mutual understandings, establishing connections, and emphasis on the process. These practices, of course, face their limitations as do truth commissions and national level processes, and more research needs to be done to assess the success and failures of such practices.

[62] Ibid., 211.

Conclusion

This chapter provided key background information about the idea of reconciliation. Understanding the concept and how it is conceptualised in national and local contexts is crucial to comprehend the theory behind how different reconciliation processes work, especially on the community level. By exploring the existing ways in which leading scholars and practitioners in the field of reconciliation define the term, I was able to identify three key characteristics, with regard to community reconciliation, upon which to build a context-specific definition. By loosely defining reconciliation to be a collection of three characteristics: mutual understanding, (re)connection between others, and an emphasis on the process, I provide a broad framework for which reconciliation can be understood when examining the case studies in this research. The last part of this chapter provided clarity about abstract notions of community reconciliation can be applied in practice in varying community contexts.

Chapter 4 : Theory of Change

Introduction

The central goal of this chapter is to provide detailed information regarding what is meant by theory of change (TOC) and, subsequently, a TOC framework. I argue that the current way in which community organisations practise, overemphasises the results and places little significance on the process. One way to change organisations' processes is to apply a TOC framework to the programme designs. While most scholars agree that a TOC framework is a useful tool in explaining community programmes' interventions, this research focuses on whether or not a TOC framework is helpful in describing the process for reconciliation-based organisations. The information provided in this chapter will provide the necessary background information needed in order to make that judgement.

The first part of this chapter justifies why a better way of understanding community projects is needed by comparing the Logical Framework Approach (LFA) to the TOC approach, and explains the historical origins of both models. Most of the chapter is then devoted to providing definitional background information of a TOC framework, conceptualising a TOC framework for the purposes of this research, and discussing the strengths and weaknesses of a TOC approach. The last part of the chapter shows how a TOC framework can be applied and how it functions in practice. The step-by-step articulation of how a TOC framework is applied will then be applied to the two reconciliation projects studied in Chapter 6 to form conclusions about the usefulness of a TOC framework.

The Need for a Theory of Change Approach

Current conventional theory regarding the process of social change (especially in donor circles, which look for simplistic explanatory logic) illustrates the notion of a carefully calculated plan which will result in the successful implementation of preconceived solutions into a community that needs assistance. This logic assumes that step A will lead to step B which will, in turn, lead to step C. This linear sequence of planning is known as the LFA, or logframing.[63] While this type of planning mechanism can yield several desirable outcomes, it often becomes overly calculated,

[63] Reeler, Doug. 2007. "A Theory of Social Change and Implications for Practice, Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation." *Community Development Resource Association*; and Stein, Danielle and Craig Valters. 2012. "Understanding Theory of Change in International Development." Joint publication between *The Asia Foundation* and *The Justice and Security Research Programme*.

inflexible, and inadaptable to changing contexts. Borrowed from United States military and business planning, the logframe model began to take shape for community intervention projects, but failed to fully articulate community change since community change rarely fits in a linear model.[64] As Reeler argues, this type of cause and effect approach is better used for inanimate objects which follow a linear pattern, not communities that are very much animate and complex, especially those in a post-conflict setting.[65]

Additionally, because the logframing model creates an easy avenue for evaluation (counting activities and either achieving the end result or not), it creates an environment where the identification of success and failure becomes oversimplified. While outcomes do play a vital role in measuring the success of a programme, too much focus on the end result leaves the importance of interim structural changes (changes in systems, beliefs, norms and ideals) under-emphasised.[66] Because of this overemphasis on calculations and end results, the underlying theory of a programme often remains hidden.[67] Without understanding the theory that connects one step to the next, projects become replicated without critical evaluation of project evolution and with disregard to different contexts. This theoretical gap calls for a change in the way programmes are designed, implemented, and measured.

Understanding a Theory of Change Framework

Due to the problematic assumptions of logframing as described above, social change practitioners began to develop different ways to think about bringing about community change. With the advent of Comprehensive Community Initiatives (CCIs) in the United States in the 1990s, came a broadened conversation about the way to understand community intervention programmes. While the idea of analysing social change and applying the concepts found in a theory of change approach is not new, Weiss gave rise to the term "Theory of Change" in 1995 to expand upon the logistical step-by-step model by identifying the social change theories and concepts that buttress the assumptions that link one step to the next.[68] Thus far, the approach has

[64] Reeler, 2007; and James, Kathy. 2011. "Theory of Change Review." A Report Commissioned by *Comic Relief*.; and Keystone Accountability. 2009. "Developing a Theory of Change: A Framework for Accountability and Learning for Social Change." *Keystone Accountability – A Constituency Voice Tool*.
[65] Reeler, 2007.
[66] Gienapp et al., 2009
[67] Leeuw, Frans and Jos Vaessen. 2009. *Impact Evaluations and Development.* Washington, D.C.: NONIE. 15.
[68] Weiss, Carol H. 1995. "Nothing as Practical as Good Theory: Exploring Theory-Based Evaluation for Comprehensive Community Initiatives for Children and Families" in J. Connell et. al (eds.) *New Approaches to Evaluating Community Initiatives: Concepts, Methods and Contexts*. Washington, D.C.: Aspen Institute.

predominately been used in the global North and other "modern" countries, leaving a potentially helpful framework absent from the communities that could benefit in the global South.

Upon introducing the term, Weiss defined a TOC as "explicit or implicit theories about how and why [a] program works."[69] This simple definition has evolved since that time to take on a number of meanings, so much so that some practitioners warn that TOC could become another "development 'fuzzword'" if measures are not taken to provide definitional clarity.[70] Despite different conceptualisations, the terms and definitions of TOC seem to fall in one of two categories.[71] The first category defines TOC as an instrumental or pragmatic programme development model. The focus is on *how* an intervention or program is able to bring about change, and the steps, identified by short-term, long-term, and medium-term goals, that are required to achieve that change. In this sense, the pragmatic definition is closely aligned with the previously critiqued logframing approach. A key difference, however, is that a TOC framework allows for the opportunity to conceptualise change in a non-linear, complex way that can develop and adapt to community changes. The second definitional category focuses more on the theoretical aspects of a TOC, relying on critical thinking rather than instrumental thinking. This category allows for the exploration of *why* change happens and seeks to find social change theories and concepts that explain the evolution of the project and the theoretical links between implementation and impact. This social change approach results with visions that are long-term and large-scale, and the impact can be seen in changes in social conditions like poverty, health and democracy.[72]

While many scholars and practitioners will argue that the two categories can be looked at separately (or on a type of continuum moving from pragmatic to theoretical), I argue that the two categories must be developed and examined together in order to provide a holistic approach to understanding programme change. The alignment of these two TOC categories is crucial. For the purpose of establishing a clear concept, I provide the following definition:

> *A theory of change approach describes the relationship between programme development and programme impact by examining the*

[69] Ibid., 66
[70] Stein, Danielle and Craig Valters. 2012. "Understanding Theory of Change In International Development." Joint publication between *The Asia Foundation* and *The Justice and Security Research Programme*. 5
[71] Authors have used words synonymous with a TOC model like programme theory, pathways mapping, road map, or theory of action
[72] Reisman, Jane, et al., 2007. "A Guide to Measuring Advocacy and Policy." *Organizational Research Services*

theories and underlying concepts that explain how the chosen program strategies and actions achieve the desired change.

Strengths and Weaknesses of a Theory of Change Approach

As discussed briefly above, using a TOC framework when designing, implementing, measuring and evaluating community intervention projects has several benefits. The benefits of theory-based program design take shape in both theoretical forms and in practical forms. One theoretical benefit is the opportunity a TOC framework provides for examining existing social theories and concepts and their applicability to programme planning. Because a theory-based approach encourages planners and practitioners to make implicit assumptions explicit, underlying social theories emerge that help to articulate programme design.[73] Organisations can then share theories to create typologies of common understanding about how change happens.

A TOC model also has potential practical benefits. Because of the emphasis on theory and programme development, organisations are able to identify best practices for achieving their desired goal. Furthermore, because of the room for adaptability and flexibility, the practices can change at any time throughout the practice to accommodate the changing environments in community contexts, thereby acknowledging the complexity of community environments. This allows for the opportunity to strengthen strategies that will reflect the communities' needs, and allow for better overall planning.[74] This enhanced planning process has the potential to make it easier for organisations to become proactive instead of reactive as best practices.[75] Another practical strength is that a TOC model is a powerful communication tool. Part of the TOC process is to create a diagram that captures the goals and indictors of a project. Unlike a linear model or a cause and effect model, a TOC model seeks to show the complexity of community situations by including feedback loops and explanations of assumptions. This allows for better accountability in project practices, and better communication between funders and stakeholders.[76]

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[73] Weiss, 1995; Keystone Accountability, 2009

[74] Reisman, et al., 2007; and Connell, James and Anne Kubisch. 1998. "Applying a Theory of Change Approach to the Evaluation of Comprehensive Community Initiatives: Progress, Prospects, and Problems" in K. Fulbright-Anderson, A. Kubisch and J. Connell (eds) *New Approaches to Evaluating Community Initiatives: Theory, Measurement, and Analysis, vol. 2*. Washington, D.C.: Aspen Institute.

[75] James, 2011.

[76] Ibid.

Like any programme planning framework, a TOC model has its drawbacks. The weaknesses of a TOC model can be classified under two categories: implementation challenges and theoretical challenges. Regarding implementation weaknesses, some critics question whether a TOC framework is all that different from a Logical Framework Approach.[77] But as mentioned earlier, one of the key differences is that the instrumental aspect needs to be accompanied by the theoretical approach to create a holistic change model. Since the LFA strategy focuses on a linear approach instead of a theoretical approach, a TOC design is preferential in community contexts. Additionally, the potential exists for the model to take a non-linear shape. An LFA model can seldom be conceptualised as non-linear.

Another criticism is that a TOC is often used as a once-off programme planning guide.[78] While it is true that several organisations use TOC as a guide to design a programme, and rarely consult back with the model once the programme has begun, a TOC model has the potential to be used as more than just a once-off planning tool. Since a TOC maps all stages in the process, provides indicators, and explains the assumptions that allow one step to lead to the next, it should be consulted, and changed if necessary, throughout the project to respond to changing contexts and new information. Furthermore, some argue that the programme map as indicated in a TOC diagram either oversimplifies the complexity of the project or becomes too complicated to understand.[79] By reviewing the literature, this criticism seems valid. Some of the diagrams presented as examples included arrows pointing in all directions, crossing each other, and leading to multiple outcomes, creating difficulties in fully understanding the programme plan. Additionally, a slippery slope exists in trying to provide clarity since it quickly becomes too simple. This criticism, however, portrays an unfair binary that posits a TOC model as either too complex or too simple. Even though several organisations fall into the problematic binary, it does not mean that a middle ground is impossible. Creating a diagram that is easy to understand while also capturing the complexity of a programme might not be out of reach.

Some argue that a TOC model also has weaknesses on a theoretical level. In a changing community context, it can be difficult to find just one theory or one concept that explains how change happens, when often multiple theories and concepts are at play. This assumes that a

[77] Shapiro, Ilana. 2006. "Extending the Framework of Inquiry: Theories of Change in Conflict Interventions." *Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management*.
[78] James, 2011
[79] Ibid.

theory can be identified at all. In reality, it can be difficult to identify theories in complicated environments.[80] It is difficult to not only establish a theory or theories, but to ensure that they are the appropriate theories. This is the risk one takes when linking a theory to a changing environment. But this is why a TOC framework is adaptable and flexible. The theories identified, are in fact, just theories. They are educated guesses that attempt to explain why things happen the way they happen. There is never a guarantee that the theoretical guesses will always hold true. Instead of approaching a theory with the expectation that it will hold true, it is best to think of a theory as a likely explanation that can be adapted in different ways based on different contexts.

Theory of Change in Practice

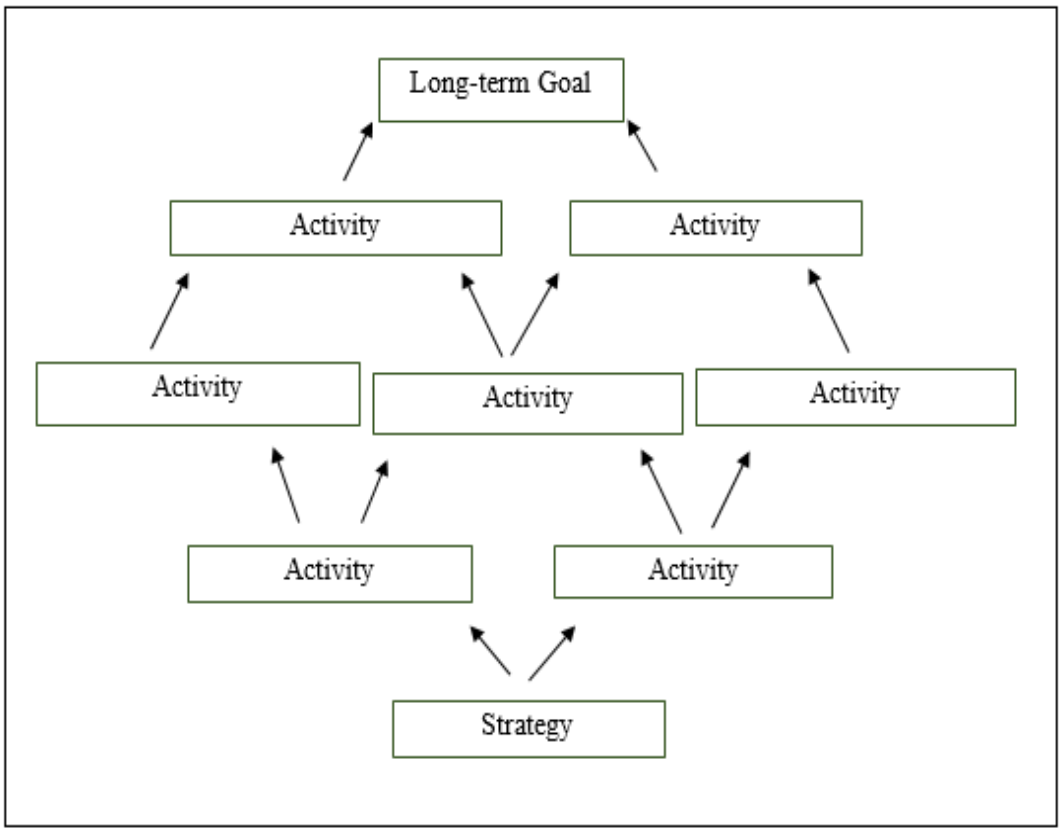
As explained above, a proper TOC model is rooted in two combined phases: the instrumental phase and the theoretical phase. This section will outline how a TOC is actually formed and put into practice, starting with instrumental and then incorporating the theoretical.

Instrumental

The instrumental approach is relatively similar to the LFA model in that it describes a step-by-step process that produces the change. Although the instrumental approach alone does not form a complete TOC model, it is an important part of the process. A programme model usually indicates the range of activities used that are intended to reach the desired outcome; a TOC model includes more information such as the goals that are achieved by the activities, feedback loops, and are coupled with information about the underlying theories and concepts. To compare and contrast the two models, Figure 4.1 depicts a normal programme model; Figure 4.2 depicts a TOC model.

[80] Weiss, 1995; Stein and Valters, 2012

Figure 4.1: A Programme Model

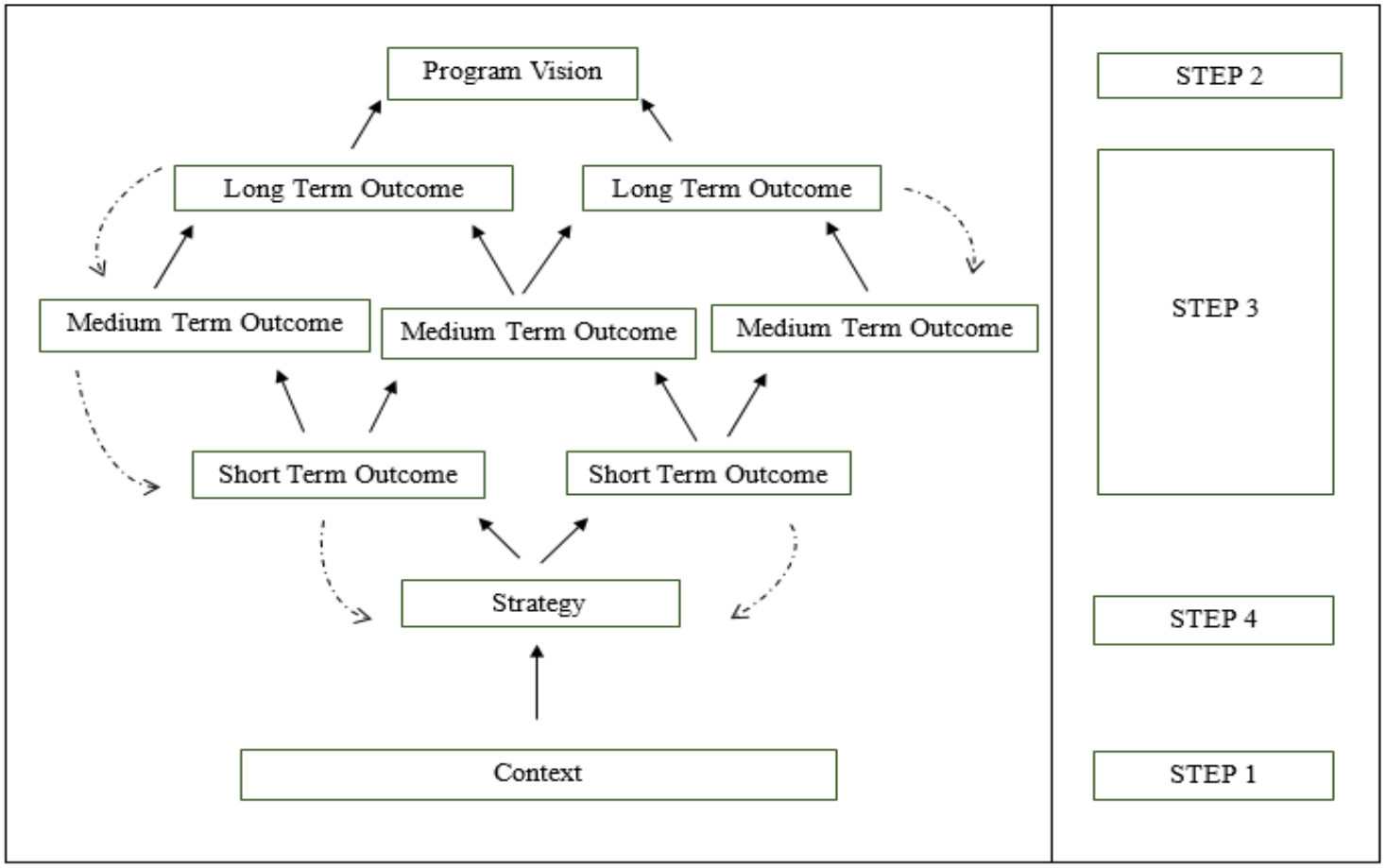


A TOC model builds from the programme model. The creation of a TOC model requires more than just the activities used in a programme, but also needs articulation of strategies, short-term goals, medium-term goals, and long-term goals. Again, Figure 4.2 shows what a TOC model looks like, and the steps required to create the model.

Among practitioners, there is relative agreement that the process of creating a TOC model begins with a clear articulation of the end goal.[81] This end goal is usually a broad statement about the ultimate vision that results from profound societal change. In a reconciliation context, this goal would relate to the strengthening of bonds between different communities, races, or religions. However, I advance a different idea and argue that the first step of building a TOC model requires examining the context (often mentioned as secondary to the vision in the literature). The exploration of the context is not something that is highlighted in the literature as a specific TOC step, but is a crucial component because the outcomes and strategies are highly dependent upon the context in which they operate. As a result, I operationalise the first step as researching the context and the second step as articulating an overall vision.

[81] Gienapp et al., 2009; Reisman et al., 2007; James, 2011; Keystone Accountability, 2009.

Figure 4.2: A Theory of Change Model



The third step, therefore, is isolating the outcomes and goals. Depending on the type of outcome desired, the strategies will vary. If an outcome is to create a change in values, beliefs, or attitudes, some strategies to achieve this would include leadership development, courses and trainings, and other advocacy work. In a setting where the ultimate impact is to create a more reconciled society, an example of a medium-to long-term outcome would be an increase in constructive dialogue between previously divided communities. Another outcome would be an end to active violence instigated by either side and a mere coexistence and relative tolerance.[82]

The fourth step is to identify the strategies to be used to initiate the intervention. Part of this requires the identification of target groups, as the strategies will varying depending on the target. To reach a point of increased dialogue between formerly opposing groups, should emphasis be placed on the individual? Or should the community become the targeted unit of

[82] Shapiro, Ilana. 2005. "Theories of Change." *Beyond Intractability*

analysis? If organisations decide that the individual should be the target, then strategies would be implemented that would produce personal transformation and self-awareness. It needs to be further explored if the focus would be on individual cognitive change, emotional change, or behavioural change.[83] If it is decided that communities should be the target, then a strategy would involve transforming collective thinking and promoting civic-engagement. If it is decided that relationships should be targeted, then strategies would be implemented to create trust, respect, and knowledge of interdependence.[84] The determining of a unit of analysis is essential in linking the strategy to the outcome. Of course the categories are not mutually exclusive. Some organisations might determine that different outcomes require different target groups. Choosing one target group does not preclude an organisation from using others to achieve the different outcomes.

The final step in the instrumental phase is a process involving measurement to monitor and evaluate the project. As part of this research, I will not be focusing on this step, as I am only interested in the planning and implementation phases of project interventions.

Theoretical Approach

The diagram above is a good starting point when planning a project. It is crucial, however, that it is accompanied by a narrative or explanation that explicitly outlines the key theories and concepts that cause a move from one step to the next. Even though "most programme theories have a cohesive internal logic… [it] is usually not explicit" and this phase is often left out of the planning stage when producing a project.[85] Leeuw and Vaessen write that "it is assumed that 'intervention theories' are like *manna* falling out of the sky" but in reality, the theory is rarely understood.[86]

The underlying theories and concepts depend on whether the focus is on individuals, intergroup/community relations, or social systems and structures. If an individual or a small group is the focus, there are several cognitive, emotional, and behavioural theories that apply. Cognitive theories include the importance of self-reflection or eliciting insights. These changes can come about by providing "safe spaces" for people to come together and "experiment with

[83] Ibid.
[84] Kunkel, Petra and Minue Hemmati. 2007. "Fieldguide: Working with Mulit-Stakeholder Dialogues." *Collective Leadership Institute*.
[85] Shapiro, 2006
[86] Leeuw and Vaessen, 2009: 16

new ways of thinking and relating to each other."[87] Emotional change theories stem from rational choice theories and cathartic therapy theories. The ability to address and control emotions leads to more rational thinking which leads to rational decision making. Behavioural change theories focus on interpersonal learning and cooperation, problem-solving mechanisms, and improved communication. These forms of cooperation are effective because they help to establish "new rules and norms for interaction, modelling more constructive behaviours and providing opportunities" to discuss with one another.[88]

Communities and relationships can also be a target to consider when applying theories and concepts. One way that relationships and groups can become reconciled over time is via the contact theory or the contact hypothesis. The idea behind this theory is that close connections with those of a different group facilitate understanding, cooperation and feelings of equality. Related to this idea is the notion of de-categorisation and re-categorisation. This approach places emphasis on other categories besides the main conflict category.[89]

Lastly, a project can target the systems/structural level as a unit of analysis. These approaches can involve institutional reform, poverty reduction initiatives, or a variety of other large scale projects. In a post-conflict setting, the theories behind transitional justice usually come into play. This includes methods of public truth-telling, handling of human rights violations, and the distribution of reparations. Transitional justice approaches articulate that change will happen because of the public acknowledge of past wrong doing because of a higher level of accountability and an indication of justice.[90]

While targeting the different levels require varied strategies, they can be used conjunctly to reach a desired vision. Rarely are visions realised without multiple strategies working on multiple levels. Additionally, not all of the above mentioned theories may hold true during the actual implementation of the project.

Conclusion

This chapter provided crucial background information about the TOC approach. Even though it was first implemented in the 1990s to describe the CCIs, it has not fully been used to articulate

[87] Shapiro, 2005: 3
[88] Shapiro, 2006: 6
[89] Shapiro, 2005
[90] Nan, Susan. 2010. "Theories of Change and Indicator Development in Conflict Management and Mitigation." *USAID*.

programmes that work to establish a sense of reconciliation in post-conflict settings. Given the strengths discussed in this chapter, both theoretical and practical in nature, there is great potential for this framework to effective in post-conflict settings. The step-by-step explanation for how a TOC framework works in practice will be applied to the case studies in Chapter 6 in effort to answer the research questions regarding if a TOC framework is an effective tool in articulating reconciliation-based projects.

Chapter 5 : Methodology

Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology used to conduct the research on theories of change (TOC) and community reconciliation-based civil society organisations (CSOs). The goal of the research is to apply a TOC framework to existing community reconciliation projects in Cape Town, and decipher whether the TOC framework is a helpful tool for explaining reconciliation processes. This means using the conceptualisation of community reconciliation from Chapter 3, and combining it with the theoretical notions and practical uses that make up a TOC framework as discussed in Chapter 4. Furthermore, this combined framework of a TOC for community reconciliation is then applied to two specific case studies, discussed in this chapter, in effort to detect patterns and observations about the feasibility and applicability of using a TOC approach to outline community reconciliation processes. This chapter will explain this methodological approach in depth.

After first presenting the research questions that guided this project, this chapter will briefly outline the two community reconciliation projects that were the case studies for this research. The following sections describe the research design, and emphasises the strengths of the chosen research design on drawing conclusive results. The research design includes detailed information about the inductive process used to articulate local understandings of the intervention logic which is then combined with insights from the theoretical literature to draw conclusions. In addition to the theoretical nature of the research design, the section also addresses the more concrete questions related to the methodology including data sources and interview procedures Lastly, this chapter describes the ethical considerations that were present when conducting this research, followed by a discussion of the research limitations.

Research Questions

The crux of this research centres upon the applicability of a TOC framework to a community reconciliation intervention to make sense of their goals, intervention steps and understanding of social change. To discursively examine this question, this research aims to answer three crucial questions.

Question 1: How do the case studies make sense of community reconciliation and what strategies are used to achieve their intended outcomes?

The first question asks how the case studies make sense of community reconciliation and what strategies are used to achieve their intended outcome. In order to best answer this question, it is best broken into three parts. First, it asks how the case studies conceptualise community reconciliation. Second, it requires exploring what strategies and activities the case studies use that guide community reconciliation projects. Finally, it asks how the strategies and activities implemented are intended to lead to the planned outcome. This overarching question is important because it allows the different CSOs to conceptualise their own meaning of community reconciliation. Since the literature identifies a myriad of definitions about reconciliation and how it can applied on the community level, as was shown in Chapter 3, it is imperative that each CSO be provided the opportunity to conceptualise their individual definitions given the specific context they want to address. This question is also crucial because since the aim of the research is to develop a TOC model for the case studies, identifying their strategies and activities is key to articulating a step-by-step theoretical model. The findings for this question become apparent in Chapter 6, but will also be discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

Question 2: What questions does a TOC framework ask of community reconciliation intervention and how are the processes discursively mapped?

The second question mixes the theoretical nature of the research with the practical implementation of community reconciliation projects. In effort to develop a comprehensive TOC model for the case studies, each step of the intervention strategy needs to be linked to the step before and the step following. As opposed to creating a linear model, as discussed in Chapter 4, a TOC model requires that each step be explained by an underlying theory or concept. In essence, this question asks what theories and concepts guide the intervention strategies used. Another crucial part of the TOC framework also includes identifying potential setbacks that can result in negative feedback loops. Each case study requires that these questions be answered in order to establish an accurate TOC model. Furthermore, the answers to these questions provide information for how the intervention processes can be discursively mapped to create a practical visual model.

Question 3: Is applying a TOC framework a useful tool for understanding community reconciliation projects?

The last question addresses whether the tools provided under a TOC framework are helpful for developing, implementing and understanding community reconciliation projects. In addition making observations and conclusions about the first two questions, it is imperative to ask if the framework is even useful. The answer to this question is crucial; if it is useful, then the extent to which a TOC framework can be applied outside of the case studies can be further explored; alternatively, it if is found not to be useful, that provides an insight that perhaps community reconciliation is too complicated to be discursively mapped, and a need for other way to understand community reconciliation is needed.

Setting

Because the research focuses on two CSOs in Cape Town, the majority of this research took place in Cape Town and the surrounding area. Cape Town is also home to a wide variety of organisations that prioritize community reconciliation, so the options of case studies were vast. I chose the two CSOs based on accessibility, willingness, and their similarities and differences that allow for both easy comparison and a clear articulation of different nuances. Additionally, I set forth the following criteria that needed to be met in order for the specific programme to be considered:

1. The CSO must be willing to be part of the study and see some value for itself in participating
2. The CSO must be working in some capacity on advancing community reconciliation, (through any variety of projects like community dialogues, forums, workshops, counselling services, etc.).
3. The CSO must be willing to provide documents relating to the design, implementation and evaluation their reconciliation project and be willing to have the information reviewed for the purposes of this research.

Based on that criteria, I choose two organisations. The first, the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR), has several reconciliation-based projects under their Building an Inclusive Society Programme. Specifically, IJR has established a Community Healing Project (CHP) that addresses reconciliation issues in a post-1994 era. The goal of the CHP is to "equip community leaders with reconciliation-seeking dialogue processes" so that the community tensions in a post-

apartheid era can be adequately addressed within the community context.[91] While this project occurs in several regions throughout the country, communities within the Western Cape are part of the IJR initiative. Second, the Institute for the Healing of Memories (IHOM) conducts Healing of Memories Workshops (HOM) that use conversation, drama, and art to facilitate a mutual understanding among community members. Like the IJR project, these workshops deal with post-1994 divisive issues including immigration, domestic violence, reintegration of ex-combatants, and other important issues that are emerging on the community level.

The organisations that were part of my study will be given a copy of the final report. I hope to be of use to the selected organisations by providing information about their programmes which can help them articulate a clearer understanding of their theory of change, clarity regarding their measurable outcomes and information about how their work fits into a broader body of post-transition community reconciliation.

Research Design

The nature of this research is qualitative, and relies on a procedural approach to draw conclusions. The research design is based on an inductive process which involves observations of the case studies to study the research questions and gather and analyse qualitative evidence to draw conclusions. A case study approach is one of the five main qualitative research approaches described in Creswell (2012). Creswell argues that case study research can provide valuable insights for forming and articulating realistic theory because specific cases are operating in a "real-life" setting and context. Since my research focuses on two separate cases (considered a multi-site study), it is particularly useful because it uses multiple sources of information, allows for comparison, and provides both breadth and depth to the research.[92]

The inductive process began by exploring concepts related to the TOC framework (as described in Chapter 4), and examining the activities and practices that took place within each project. I conducted an exhaustive review of 33 documents, both practitioner and academic based, related to theory of change designs. These included academic articles, workshop notes, conference papers and other documents that were primarily obtained using systematic internet searches, library databases and snowballing methods. This review allowed me to develop a

[91] IJR Website. 2015. www.ijr.org.za.
[92] Creswell, John. 2012. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*. 3rd Edition. Los Angeles: Sage.

general basic outline of a programme model (as illustrated in Figure 4.1). Additionally, this review provided information on how to create theories of change for projects and examples of theories of change which allowed for instruction and comparison to the CSOs in my research and help me identify key concepts and theories that could be used when creating the TOC model (as illustrated in Figure 4.2) for the projects.

To answer the questions identified for this research, three qualitative research strategies were appropriate: key informant interviewing, document analysis, and participant observation (the latter was used to a much lesser degree). After identifying the organisations and the specific projects within the organisation, I contacted the respective programme coordinators. For IJR, I contacted Stan Henkeman (Building an Inclusive Society Coordinator) who advised me to work with Kenneth Lukuko, the head of the CHP. I have been in regular contact with Mr. Lukuko since that time. For IHOM, I contacted Fatima Swartz, the programme manager; most of the information solicited using elite interviewing from the IHOM is based on conversations with Ms. Swartz. I first contacted these participants in November 2014 and completed my final interviews in June 2015. The first meeting I had with the individuals consisted of a structured interview which focused on learning more about the programme in a general sense. The remaining interviews were semi-structured and focused on gathering information and answering questions as they arose in the project. The last interview I had with each individual was structured and served as a last "wrap-up" of the research. This participatory approach allows for more in-depth insight about the organisations, rather than just basic information.

To build on the inductive research, I engaged in a thorough document analysis. I sifted through funding proposals, programme evaluations, impact assessments, annual reports, and facilitators' guides for each program to obtain as much information about the project and the steps taken in the projects as possible. For IJR, I reviewed their website, a total of 13 documents and three PowerPoint presentations; for IHOM, I reviewed their website, a total of six documents and one short story publication disseminated to illustrate the work of the organisation. Since I was provided with more information regarding the CHP, the analysis for the programme is necessarily more comprehensive. I accessed these documents from the organisations and conducted basic internet searches to find previous literature written on the organisations. While I found a number of external documents, most of the document analysis comes from information provided by the organisations. It is crucial to be aware that these documents are uncritical

resources, and lack in-depth evaluation and critique of the respective programmes. However, as discussed in the limitations section, since the goal of the research is to explore rather than to evaluate, critical evidence about the projects is not necessary.

I also participated in limited observations one of the programmes. My observation was part of my research for the CHP at IJR. I chose not to observe any HOM workshops because the workshops exclude room for observers due the participatory nature of the conversations; every person present is there to participate. As a result, in effort to limit my personal bias, I chose not to participate. Since the observation was limited to just IJR, and subsequently not a key component of my research, I did not bring any information from my observation into the case studies' analysis. Rather, these observations served as a reference point for me to see how the project was conducted in order to provide more contextualisation. As part of the observation, I sat in on one workshop that involved storytelling from a member of the CHP from Hanover Park, a township in Cape Town. Again, this provided more context for me as a researcher to learn more about the programme operation, but no information was obtained that was relevant to constructing a theory of change for the programme.

Between the elite interviewing, the extensive document analysis, and the limited observations, I collected important information about their process and their conceptualisations of reconciliation. One thing that I found under articulated in the information I gathered, however, was the explanation of the underlying theories and concepts that help explain their processes. In instances where I felt like that articulation was missing, I relied on academic literature to help explain the processes and connect the activities to give further support to the project models. This lack of information, however, was not surprising. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Shapiro writes that even though most organisations can explain their activities and justify their logic based on experience in the field, it usually is not explicitly written into their programme designs.[93] I extrapolate on this in the discussion of the case studies in Chapter 6 and in the discussion of the overall findings in Chapter 7.

Ethical Considerations

This research will be useful in promoting positive change among communities by creating a TOC for their intervention strategies. Since I will only be working with professional CSO staff

[93] Shapiro, Ilana. 2006. "Extending the Framework of Inquiry: Theories of Change in Conflict Interventions." *Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management*.

and not directly with vulnerable populations, there is minimal risk involved in this research. Even though I am not directly working vulnerable populations, however, they are still the underlying reason I am working to find a way of better articulating community reconciliation. Therefore, any information collected for this research was treated with respect. Additionally, since I conducted interviews and collected data on sensitive and potentially confidential matters, I adopted measures to ensure complete anonymity.

When contacting the CSOs, I explained the voluntary nature of participation informed those who agree to be interviewed about the purpose and nature of the research. As part of the informed consent process, I notified participants of the extent to which I used the research. At the conclusion of the research, a copy of the TOC models and information will be provided to each organisation.

The last ethical consideration I had when conducting the research was my location as a white foreigner. Since I am not South African, I was sure to let the interviews and documents I collected guide my research, rather than my own outside knowledge or biases. This allowed me to keep my location in check when conducting the research.

Research Limitations

As with any extensive research, I faced several limitations during this project. First, because I operated within the framework of CSOs, I needed to be accommodating to their schedules and their degrees of willingness to engage with me on the research. While this does not necessarily have a significant impact on my overall findings, this dictated the pace at which I could conduct my research and the overall access I had to internal documentation. For example, IJR provided me with the most access and the most comprehensive list of internal documents, impact assessments, funding proposals and other programme insights. As a result, their TOC is the most detailed and articulated. While IHOM also provided me with comprehensive access, they have substantially less information about their project than does IJR. I was, however, able to supplement the absent information with the in-depth interviews I conducted with Ms. Swartz. Additionally, as mentioned above, the information that I did review was affiliated with the individual projects or organisations, and subsequently most documents provided an uncritical view of the projects. While this would be important when evaluating the effectiveness of such programs, this research was merely setting out to describe the organisations, the projects and the applicability of a TOC model, not to measure and evaluate the programme impacts.

During the onset of my research, I was aware that some CSOs might view my research as critical of their methods. I, however, did not find this to be the case. Instead, I found that both case studies were very willing to have me analyse their methods and create a TOC. While it might be ultimately beneficial to study which projects are more successful than others, given the limited scope and timeframe of my research, I am unable to fully evaluate degrees of success.

Another limitation of this research design is that the results are not necessarily applicable to all CSOs that aim to achieve a sense of community reconciliation. While a goal of my research was to find a common typology and practice that community reconciliation-based organisations can use, all strategies and interventions rely on the size of the organisation, the philosophical approach to reconciliation, and the funding sources of the organisation. While I consider my findings to be widely applicable to organisations that hope to accomplish some form of reconciliation, it is not applicable to all and should not be taken in that regard.

Lastly, I constructed what is an ideal model of community reconciliation for each programme. The models constructed do not necessarily reflect reality; rather they are what the models would look like in an ideal world. While this might limit the accuracy of each project, the goal was not to reflect the projects perfectly, but rather to come up with an ideal model that can form the start of a basis for understanding. This is discussed more when outline each case study.

Conclusion

This chapter described the methodological approach to this research, which is based on an inductive design that involves qualitative study of two case studies. This chapter also highlighted and explained the main research questions, provided background information about the setting and the case studies, and thoroughly explained the research design used to gather information. Most information for this research was collected through key informant interviews and document analysis, and was supplemented by previous academic research on underlying theories where necessary. Lastly, this chapter included a discussion of the ethical considerations and research limitations.

Chapter 6 : An Exploration of Two Case Studies

Introduction

This chapter analyses and illustrates the two case studies and their respective interventions designed to promote reconciliation. The first case study, the Community Healing Project (CHP) at the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR), is the most detailed and elaborated case due to the abundance of information that I had access to at the organisational level that allowed for a clear articulation of goals, visions, and intervention strategies in this research. The second case study presented in this chapter, the Healing of Memories (HOM) workshops at the Institute for the Healing of Memories (IHOM), has slightly less information provided in this chapter. This is due in part to the smaller size of IHOM, relative to IJR. Regardless of the amount of data collected, each case study provides adequate information to draw conclusions about the applicability of a TOC framework in explaining community reconciliation, and provides a starting point for further research. With each case study, I begin by explaining the background information about the organisation and the specific projects, as well as a brief explanation regarding the context in which they are working. This is done in part to provide familiarity with the organisations, and to also complete the first step in creating a TOC model, as described as necessary in Chapter 4. I then explain the programme visions and targets for each case study, which completes the second step in creating a TOC model. Before illustrating the TOC model, I provide the simplistic programme model to show the activities used in each long-term goal in each project. As per my methodology, I then use that information to create the TOC model and the subsequent explanations of the theories and concepts that link the goals in each step. Lastly, I create an overall TOC model that combines the long-term goals.

The Community Healing Project at the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation

IJR was founded in 2000 in order to continue to advocate for the healing and nation building needed for individuals and communities in South Africa, as outlined by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and to assist in the transition between apartheid-era rule and a new democracy. While originally formed to address the specific contextual needs of a transitioning South African society, IJR now conducts work and research in eight countries on the African continent and collaborates with the International Criminal Court, the Southern African Development Council, and the African Union.

When compared to other reconciliation-based organisations in the Cape Town area, it is amongst the largest. It houses four distinct (but sometimes overlapping) programmes aimed to promote its core vision.[94] Of its four programmes, the Building an Inclusive Society Programme is most concerned with issues of community reconciliation, and the Community Healing Project falls under this programme.[95]

The CHP was formed in 2001 just after the opening of IJR. Nyameka Goniwe, a widow of Matthew Goniwe — an anti-apartheid activist killed in 1985, part of what is now known as the Cradock Four — realised that her personal experiences with the incident were closely related to the experiences of others in the community who had been subjected to oppression and discrimination.[96] At the time of the formation of the CHP, Goniwe was a programme manager at IJR and decided to start the a project to facilitate a healing process in the Cradock community. Due to the success of the healing processes in Cradock, similar programmes formed in the Western Cape, beginning what is now the CHP. The project is designed as a workshop, and occasional once-off presentations and conversations, which lead participants through a variety of sessions that address issues of memory, conflict cycles and dialogue, and encourages participants to engage in activities that require storytelling, working with others, and analysing community obstacles. After participants complete the workshop, the hope is that they will feel more reconciled on a personal and interpersonal level and take back their knowledge to their neighbourhoods and act as community leaders who can facilitate a similar process with other community members.

Community Context

The communities that participate in the CHP are divided along a variety of lines. The community background almost always involves some sort of racial hierarchy, stemming from colonialism

[94] The four programmes are Building an Inclusive Society Programme, Justice and Reconciliation in Africa Programme, Policy and Analysis Programme, and Communication and Strategy Programme. For more information, see www.ijr.org.za/programmes.php.

[95] The five projects under the Building an Inclusive Society Programme are the Schools' Oral History Project; the Memory, Arts and Culture Project; the Community Healing Project; the Ashley Kriel Youth Leadership Development Project; and the Education for Reconciliation project. For more information see www.ijr.org.za/building-an-inclusive-society.php.

[96] The Cradock Four incident involved the murder of four anti-Apartheid activists on 27 June 1985, near Cradock in the Eastern Cape of South Africa.

and perpetuated by the apartheid-era politics via subordination and oppression.[97] This hierarchy decreased opportunities for interaction across racial lines, thereby encouraging the perpetuation of racial stereotypes due to a lack of understanding about the 'other'. In addition to racial divisions, many communities have generational divides. Where older generations want to address the past and be engaged in a healing process to address the memories and legacies of the past, younger generations do not necessarily want to dwell on the past, but instead focus on the present and the future.[98] Extreme class divisions are also apparent within and between communities. Similar to the racial hierarchy, class divisions also manifested in a hierarchal manner limiting opportunity for interactions and conversation between class groupings.[99] Furthermore, because of these multidimensional divisions, the perception of different in-groups and out-groups is exacerbated by the unequal distribution of government services. Service delivery issues are closely related to issues of corruption that stem from the highest government offices to local police officers. Overall, these divisions, coupled with the apartheid past, created a breakdown of community support structures that could otherwise be used to address community needs.[100] Due to the breakdown, it became necessary to establish an organisation that was designed to address the issues.

Programme Vision

Because of the various contextual factors and the absence of pre-existing community structures, the CHP was devised to address the previously mentioned community challenges. The official vision statement of the CHP has necessarily changed over time to reflect the changes in the community, but in general, the CHP attempts to address legacies of the past, challenges of the present, and move forward in a constructive way to ensure future prosperity. Based on reviewing different resources and literature about the vision of the CHP, I provide the following vision that reflects the work of the CHP over time. It is important to note that this is not the official vision of IJR; rather it is a composite form of the vision pulled together from various IJR documents, literature and other resources.

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[97] Conrad, Keziah. 2008. "Trauma and Community Healing in South Africa." Unpublished essay.
[98] Conrad, 2008; and Lukuko, Nkwenkwe et al. 2008. BonteLanga Community Healing Project: A Case Study of Community-Based Reconciliation in the Western Cape. *EFSA Institute for Theology and Interdisciplinary Research* and *UWC SA Seminar on Leadership, Social Transformation and Healing.*
[99] Mouton, Charline. 2010. Community Healing Project: Outcomes Evaluation. *Impact Consulting.*

[100] Lukuko et al., 2008

The vision of the Community Healing Project is to acknowledge and address experiences of the past, develop a sense of understanding between different groups by constructing an inclusive narrative to change the reality of the present, and to empower communities and leaders to manage challenges effectively and peacefully in the future.

The specific strategies employed to achieve the vision will be outlined in the next section. In terms of fully realising this vision, Lukuko says that it is "too good to imagine" but the CHP builds steps that are in the right direction of promoting the vision.[101] If everything in the programme is done correctly, according to Lukuko, it is possible to have a slight paradigm shift in how individuals view reconciliation and that minimal change can be possible within five years of the introduction of the CHP into communities.[102]

Target

While the main focus of this research is to address community reconciliation processes, IJR articulates that the first step toward community healing is addressing individual and interpersonal healing. Subsequently, the preliminary target of the IJR strategies in on the individual. While individual change, community change, and structural change are all necessary requirements to fully realise the vision of reconciliation, the initial planning must address the individuals' healing.[103] Of course individual healing encompasses more than just one person. It often involves relationships, past memories involving others, and networks of individuals. When several individuals are the target of reconciliation programmes, these webs of relationships and stories ultimately end up involving countless individuals. After addressing individual needs, small group healing follows, and the effect eventually ripples to the community level.[104] This timeframe, however, is undetermined and could take decades for the full transformation of a community. [105]

Steps in Project Implementation

As outlined in Chapter 4, when developing a TOC, it is best start with an investigation into community context and then formulate the vision, as the previous paragraphs have outlined above. The next step is to isolate broad and long-term goals or outcomes first, and second, work

[101] Interview with Kenneth Lukuko. 22 June 2015.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Mouton et al., 2010; and IJR. 2008. Community Healing: Participant's Training Manuel. Training material
[105] Interview: Lukuko, 2015

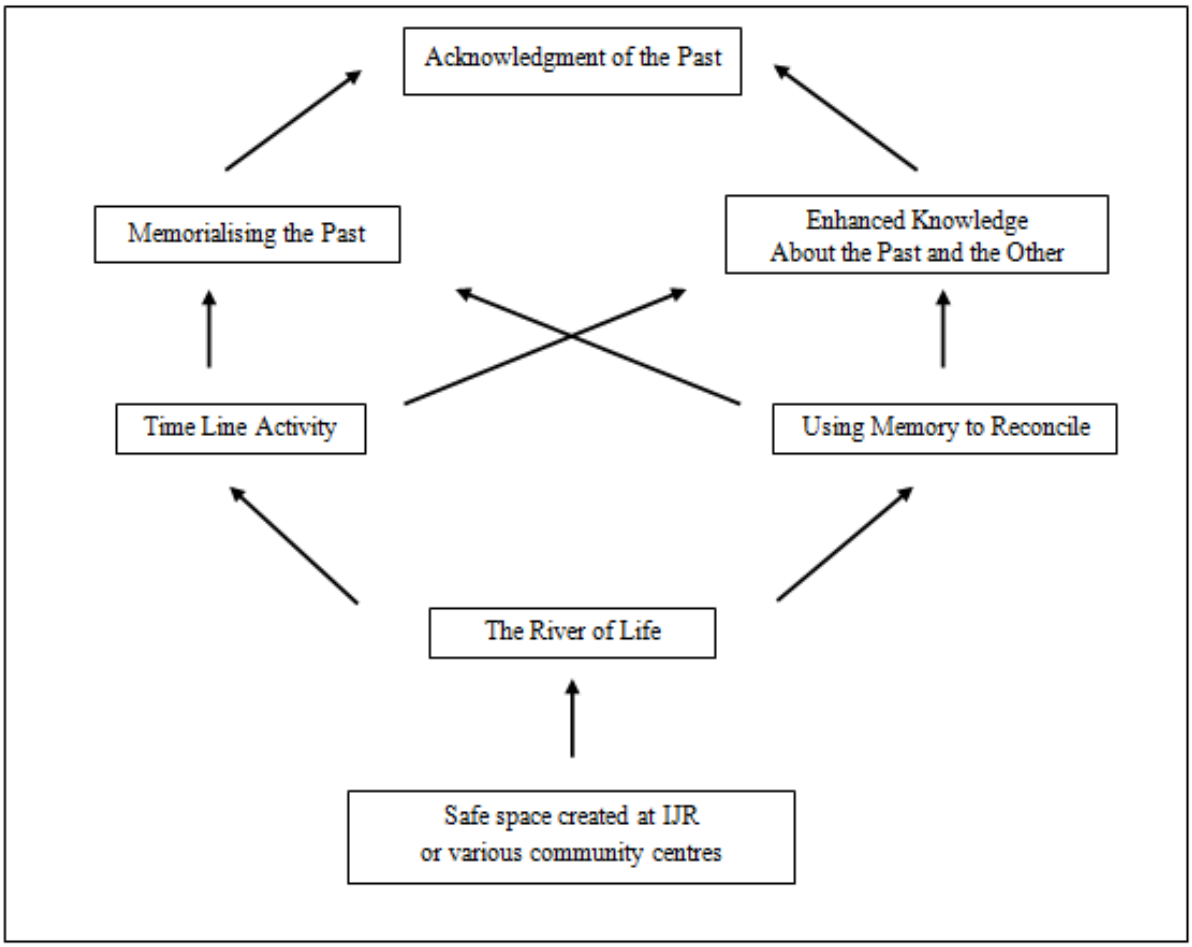
toward more specific and short-term goals or outcomes. Essentially, the generic TOC model illustrated in Figure 4.2 will be applied to the community reconciliation methods that IJR uses.

The overall vision mentioned in the section above revolves around addressing legacies of the past, challenges of the present, and moving forward in a constructive way to achieve future prosperity. These three broad goals will be broken down into individual models to illustrate the TOC, and then will be incorporated together to form a larger picture to represent the entirety of the mission of the CHP. Each individual goal will start with an illustration of the basic programme model which includes the specific activities, followed by an explanation of what the activities look like in practice, as described by IRJ. Then, each goal will move to an illustration of a TOC model with a corresponding explanation of the underlying theories and concepts as found in the literature. As mentioned in Chapter 5, the organisations have thorough explanations of the activities, but lack a clear articulation of the underlying theories and concepts; thus, the inclusion of the literature will provide more clarity on the TOC framework. As a reminder, models that follow are not meant to accurately reflect the reality of the programmes, but rather to create an ideal model that can create a starting point for understanding each programme and each programme's TOC.

Goal 1: Acknowledgement of the past

The first part of the vision, acknowledgement of the past, is broken down into its own unique models. Figure 6.1 shows the programme model, which is composed of the names of activities used and the strategies applied to reach the long-term goal. Figure 6.2 provides a detailed account for the underlying processes illustrated in Figure 6.1 by explaining the theories and concepts that guide the process.

Figure 6.1: The Programme Model for Goal 1 of the Community Healing Project



After closely researching and observing the programme model that CHP created to achieve the first part of its project, it is clear that the first goal has this core process:

a) Working within communities that face issues of crime, poverty, oppression, human rights abuses and lack of opportunity because of colonial and apartheid-era policies, the CHP provides a safe space where individuals have the chance to express their feelings and opinions without feeling threatened. These areas have been in Cape Town at the IJR offices or in various community centres. During this stage in the process, individuals in the safe space will begin to form relationships in a stage of group development called the "honeymoon" stage.[106] The CHP conducts a number of activities that work to make the provided space feel safe during this

[106] IJR, 2008; and Tuckman, Bruce. 1965. "Developmental Sequence in Small Groups." *Pyschological Bulletin*. 63(6): 384-399.

honeymoon stage, including using a variety of ice breakers, group introductions, ground rules, and establishing a group code of conduct.[107] These methods allow participants to not only get to know each other on the surface level, but to take ownership of the space. Unfortunately, during the apartheid, very few spaces were considered safe, so giving agency back to the participants to create their own safe space can be powerful. This space is not only one that is safe from external threats, but one that allows thought experimentation, lack of judgement, and respect. These norms are established during the first encounter.

b) After the establishment of safe spaces, individuals present in the safe areas engage in various exercises that encourage storytelling and sharing of unique oral histories. The CHP has a variety of methods to encourage this form of sharing, but considered most meaningful is an activity called *The River of Life*.[108] The *River of Life* activity is used to help individuals describe their life experiences by imagining that their life is a river that meanders and twists through different events and experiences with periods of calmness and periods of rapids. After individuals think about their own histories, they think about their community's history, and then share both histories with a trusted individual.

c) After sharing stories, CHP uses two activities to continue working toward the long-term goal of acknowledging the past. First, the *Timeline Activity* allows participants to decide on key years in their lives that are memorable, and then link the years to the memorable events. The participants are then asked to think about what she or he was feeling most strongly about during those years and events on the national level, on the community level, and on a family level. The participants then share their stories. IJR reports that this activity, while helpful with all lines of division, is especially useful to address generational divides since it allows both the older and younger generations to hear about different events and how the events affected the generations differently.[109] The second activity the CHP uses is an activity called *Using Memory to Reconcile* to help facilitate the process of understanding and reconnecting. This activity creates an environment where participants interview each other about a specific event that happened in the past. After the interview, the participants complete a response sheet that encourages reflection on what was said during the interview.

[107] IJR, 2008
[108] Interview: Lukuko, 2015; IJR, 2008
[109] IJR, 2008

d) This new understanding forms the basis for enhanced knowledge about the past and other. This understanding and recognition brings different individuals together which leads to deeper relationships and deeper conversations. Additionally, both activities provide an opportunity to talk about memorialising the past. The CHP participants can begin to explore the idea of working with other organisations or campaigning for a way to memorialise the past. This memorialisation can take the form of tangible memorials like erecting monuments, opening museums, renaming streets, or changing the way history is presented in class textbooks. The memorialisation can also take symbolic forms like rewriting local histories, celebrating a national holiday, or reaching a shared consensus amongst former adversaries about past events.[110] The CHP collaborates with other programmes and organisations in Cape Town to help advocate for memorialisation projects.

e) The memorialisation and the newfound understanding about the past and the other culminate to achieve some sense of an acknowledgement of the past. While this acknowledgement may not come immediately at the end of the workshops as part of the CHP, the hope is that the work down in the workshops can help bring the long-term goal of the acknowledgment of the past into a reality.

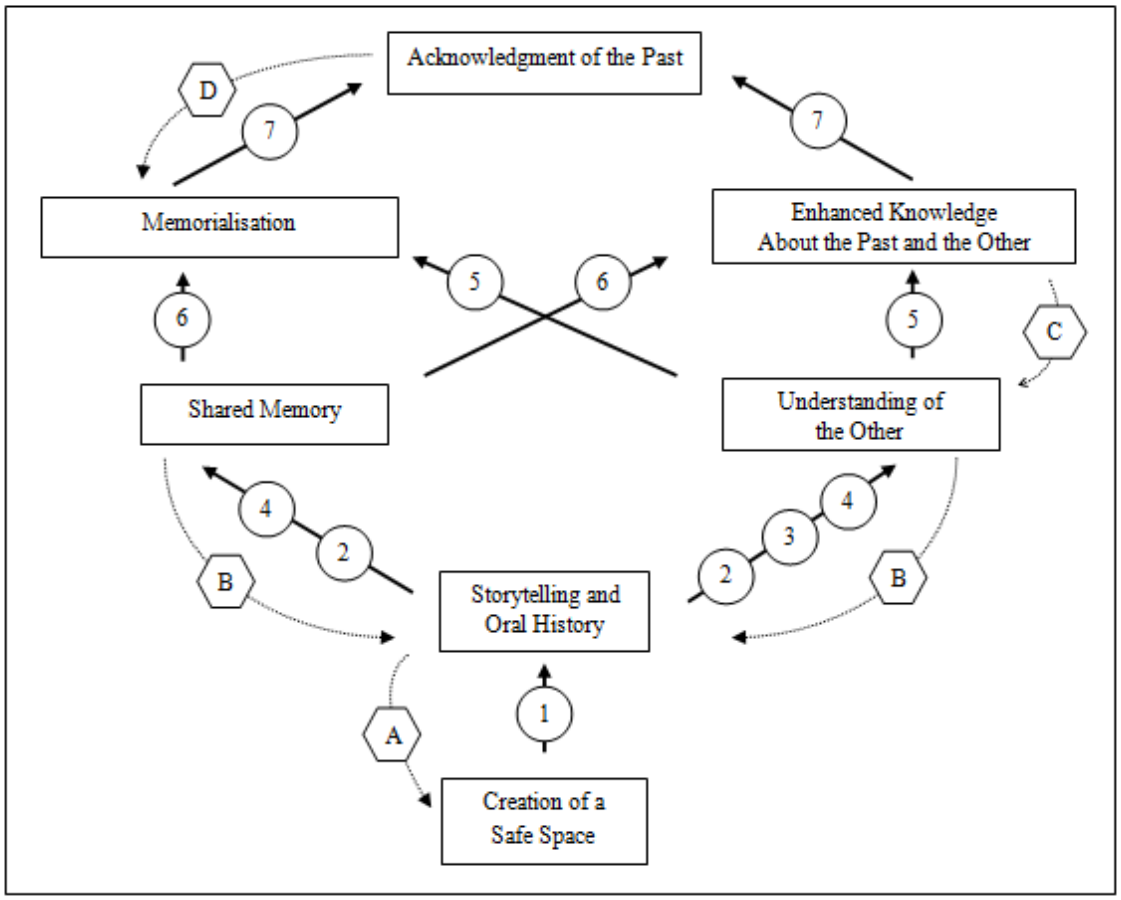
The process, as outlined above in steps A - E, takes time. While participants can engage in the activities in the CHP workshops, the time it takes to spread to the community level is undetermined. Time frames are purposefully left out of the equation because each community evolves and engages in the reconciliation process at different times. Additionally, as mentioned above, the process explained is the programme model in an ideal sense. Because of the dynamic and ever-changing context of community healing and reconciliation, very little can be thoroughly planned and controlled.

As mentioned in the methodology section, after making observations about the programme model, the second part of the research requires applying the TOC concepts to the model to see if the application of the underlying theories and concepts between each step helps to explain community reconciliation. If the model in Figure 6.1 is left without a TOC model, it just fills the requirement of establishing a basic programme model as mentioned in Chapter 4. Figure 6.2 looks almost identical to Figure 6.1, with the exception that instead of the activities in the boxes, Figure 6.2 has the short-term and medium-term goals that result from the activities listed

[110] Morrison, Karen. 2006. "Community Healing: A Resource Guide" *Institute for Justice and Reconciliation*

in Figure 6.1. Additionally, each arrow is overlaid with the corresponding theories or concepts, found in the literature, which links one step to the next. The individual theories are explained in the section below. Lastly, the TOC model in Figure 6.2 includes areas where possible negative feedback loops can occur; these loops are also explained in the following section.

Figure 6.2: Theory of Change Model for Goal 1 of the Community Healing Project



There are several theories found in the literature that can help to explain the relationship from one step to another, as depicted in Figure 6.1. Out of the comprehensive literature reviewed in effort to find theories that can explain community reconciliation, Ilana Shapiro perhaps provides the best analysis.[111] Resultantly, most of the theories are drawn from that work, with minimal reference to other applicable sources.

[111] Shapiro, Ilana. 2005. "Theories of Change." *Beyond Intractability*

1. Cognitive Space and Permission: The very first concept evident in the first goal of the CHP is best described by understanding the ideas behind cognitive space and permission. By creating an environment where people feel safe to express their opinions, perspectives, and histories, individuals are more likely to open up about their experiences. A sense of safety becomes evident due to the creation of a "bounded context with a clear structure and predictable rhythm."[112] The safe space also allows for experimenting with new ways of thinking which encourages better problem solving skills and complex understandings. This safe space is a crucial first step in starting the process toward healing and acknowledgement of the past.[113] If the space begins to become threatened or if individuals feel as if they cannot share their ideas, advancement to other steps in the process can become difficult, resulting in a negative feedback loop that leads back to forming a safe space again. This feedback loop is represented by the letter "A" in Figure 6.2.

2. Storytelling: Storytelling inherently allows people to share their perspectives and give value and weight to their own interpretation of past events. This also helps individuals understand each other's memories and either share the memory or provide a different interpretation of the memory which can enhance empathy and draw connections across divisions.[114] Furthermore, it encourages a process of self-reflection. Pranis writes that "in telling our stories we articulate how we understanding what has happened to us, why and how it has impacted us, and how we see ourselves and others."[115] One potential challenge, however is that storytelling can yield competing narratives and different truths and others are not able to understand different perspectives or share similar memories. If this happens, stories might been to be retold and understood in different ways. This negative feedback loop is represented by the letter "B" in Figure 6.2.

3. Insight and Awareness Processes: By sharing stories and listening to others, individuals will begin to understand different perspectives which helps to raise awareness of the other and change attitudes and behaviours. Hearing others' stories allows for the potential to see events and circumstances in different lights, possibly creating what some practitioners consider

[112] Conrad, 2008: 22
[113] Shapiro, 2005; Conrad, 2008; IJR, 2008
[114] Shapiro, 2005
[115] Pranis, Kay. 2005. *The Little Book of Circle Processes*. Intercourse: Good Books. 40.

to be an "aha" moment where true understanding of the other can begin.[116] This kind of listening "allows information to be exchanged more thoroughly, leading to much greater understanding between people."[117]

4. Cognitive Reframing: Sharing oral history and telling stories of past memories also necessarily brings about different interpretations of the past. This has the potential to cause cognitive dissonance among groups and individuals. Others can express or comment on those differences, which leads to a deeper understanding of the past and allows for the possibility to reshape a previously held narrative. This can also encourage individuals to relate to past memories not with individuals or experiences, but with symbols and objects.[118] This leads to the ability to combat feelings related to cognitive dissonance and to reframe opposing individual narratives into a more neutral construct by applying the negativity to situations and objects rather than to individuals. The depersonalisation of issues can lead to eventual mitigation of conflict.[119]

5. Intergroup Contact Theory: After hearing stories and beginning to understand the other, relationships begin to form between individuals, allowing for deeper conversations and more explanation of prior experiences. Because of the understanding, these relationships tend to be positive and built on tolerance.[120] It is important to note, however, that this merely provides the opportunity for intergroup contact, not a guarantee that it actually results in lasting relationships.[121] Due to this, a negative feedback loop exists in this step, represented by the letter "C" in Figure 6.2.

6. Common Memory and Heritage: By realising that others have similar experiences, a connection is formed that has the potential to transcend divisions. This can create a consensus regarding what is remembered and how it is remembered.[122] This also opens room for three different possibilities. First, some might begin to realise that they share a similar memory to others in the group, which allows for a rich bonding experience and the creation of deeper

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[116] Shapiro, 2005
[117] Pranis, 2005: 39
[118] Montville, Joseph. 1993. "The Healing Function of Political Conflict Resolution." in D. Sandole and H. van der Merwe (eds.), *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice.* New York: Manchester University Press, 112-128.
[119]Ross, Marc Howard. 2000. "Creating the Conditions for Peacemaking: Theories of Practice in Ethnic Conflict Resolution." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 23(6): 1002-1034
[120]Powers, Daniel and Christopher Ellison. 1995. "The Contact Hypothesis and Racial Attitudes Among Black Americans." *Social Science Quarterly* 74(1): 385 and Shapiro, 2005.
[121]Tihanyi, Krisztina and Fanie du Toit. 2005. Reconciliation Through Integration? An Examination of South Africa's Reconciliation Process in Racially Integrating High Schools. *Conflict Resolution Quarterly*. 23(1): 26
[122]Shapiro, 2005

connections. Second, even if the memories are not shared, individuals can begin to understand others' perspectives because of an explanation of experiences and memories. Third, by hearing others express memories, previously held assumptions about another's past can be corrected allowing individuals to reshape a previously held narrative. For example, if one group blamed their hardships on a different group, but learn that the different group faced the same hardships, individuals can begin to relate their past experiences not to individuals or groups, but rather to objects and symbols. This stage in group development is known as the "norming" phase.[123]

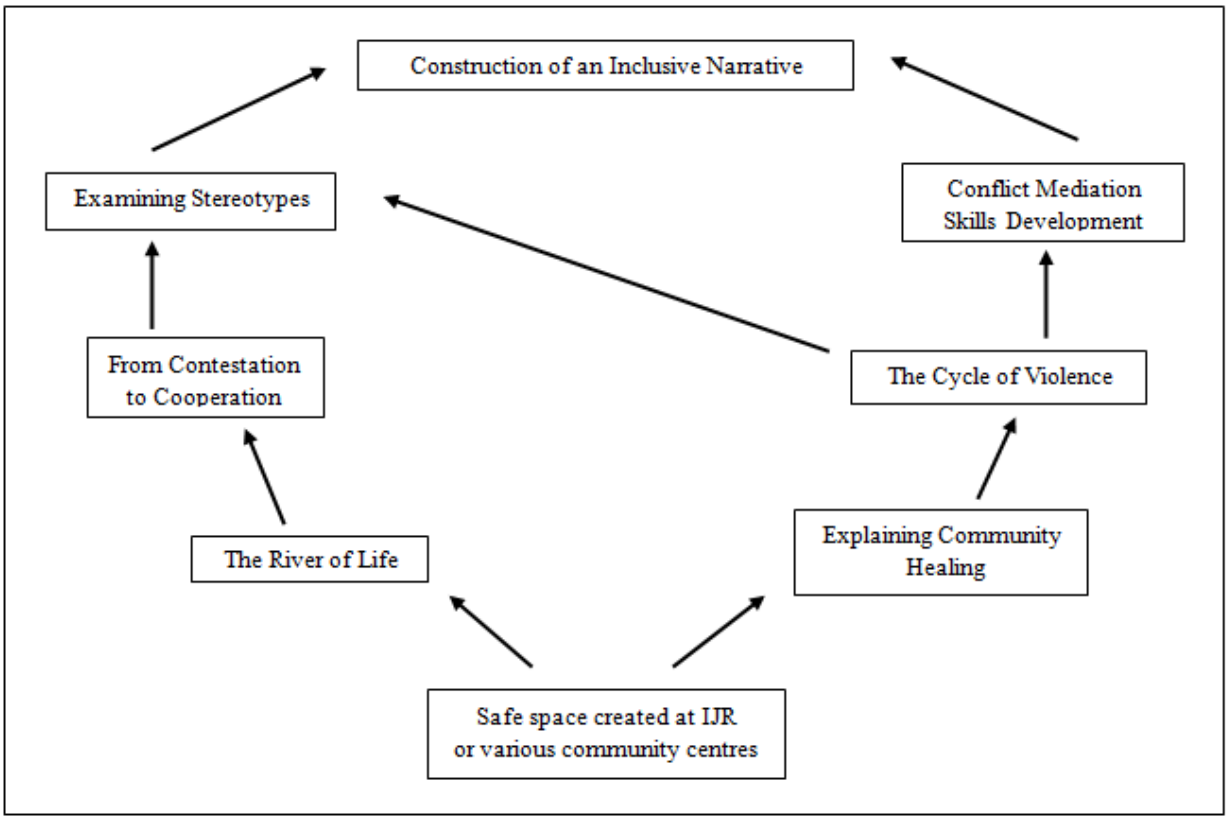
7. Public Acknowledgement: By creating memorials or public sentiments of remembrance (erecting statues, renaming streets, creating art memorials, etc.), this validates the historical narrative of the past.[124] While memorialisation provides the opportunity for public acknowledgement due to increased awareness, it is not guaranteed that memorialisation will automatically lead to public acknowledgment. This is depicted by the negative feedback loop represented by the letter "D" in Figure 6.2. Additionally, understanding the other brings forth a sense of public acknowledgement. The next depictions of the TOC models for the following two goals will build from the theories explained above and will be references throughout the theory explanation.

Goal 2: Construction of an Inclusive Narrative

Like the first goal, the second goal has its own programme model. While the first part of the vision focuses on acknowledging the past, the second part of the CHP programme vision addresses the need to change reality of the present by constructing an inclusive narrative. Figure 6.3 depicts the programme model, followed by explanations of each of the activities. After the programme information, Figure 6.4 will depict the TOC model of the second goal and outline the theoretical explanations.

[123] Tuckman, 1965
[124] Nan, Susan. 2010. "Theories of Change and Indicator Development in Conflict Management and Mitigation." *USAID*.

Figure 6.3: Programme Model for Goal 2 of the Community Healing Project



After closely researching and learning about the programme model that CHP created to achieve the second part of its project, it is clear that the second goal has this core process:

a) Similar to the first goal, working within communities that experience a variety of social injustices, the CHP provides a safe space for individuals. Again, these spaces are a crucial starting point for building an inclusive narrative. While this allows room for people to share their stories and personal histories, as in the first goal, it also provides a space for instruction and training where the learning process is not threatened. To reiterate from the explanation of the safe space in the first goal, during this stage in the process, individuals in the safe space will begin to form relationships in a stage of group development called the "honeymoon" stage.[125] The same activities are used to establish the safe space, as already mentioned, like ground rules, ice-breakers, and introductions.

b) After the creation of a safe space, two crucial steps occur. The first is the ability to share stories. This process is very similar to the process described in goal one, since the sharing

[125]Tuckman, 1965; IJR, 2008

of stories and histories is a critical step for both goals. As mentioned as part of the first goal, the CHP has several activities that encourage others to tell their stories; most notably is the *River of Life* activity. Once others feel comfortable enough to share their own stories, they are more open to listening to and understanding others. The second activity, called *Explaining Community Healing* allows participants to work together to define community healing and talk about what community healing means to each individual and in their home communities. This allows for participants to further get to know each other and begin to grapple with the conceptualisation and operationalisation of community healing as it plays out on a personal and emotional level and on a community and physical level.

c) After individuals are able to understand what is meant by community healing, they can begin to learn about the broader context of conflict. The CHP conducts several different learning sessions for individuals within the programme including a session called *The Cycle of Violence* that explains the cycle of victimhood and violence, the impact of violence on the community, and tips for breaking the cycle of violence.[126] Additionally, it encourages participants to identify obstacles in their respective communities and to identify how far the community is into any healing processes. As a result, individuals' knowledge about conflict prevention and conflict resolutions grows.

d) After the *River of Life* activity and after participants start to get to know one another, the CHP uses an activity called *From Contestation to Cooperation* to help facilitate further understanding between participants. In this activity, two participants sit facing each other and when asked where the door in the room is located, each has a different response. One says the door is behind and the other says the door is in front. This low-risk environment allows participants to be in disagreement with each other and work to understand each other's perspective. The goal is that eventually, the participants will see that both are correct, and then are able to apply the scenario to other situations within a healing community.

e) The knowledge gained from learning about conflict cycles is further built upon by participants learning about conflict mediation and developing their conflict mediation skills, which is the last step before the second long-term goal. This knowledge not only helps participants learn about conflict, but also allows them to practice their skills. By understanding

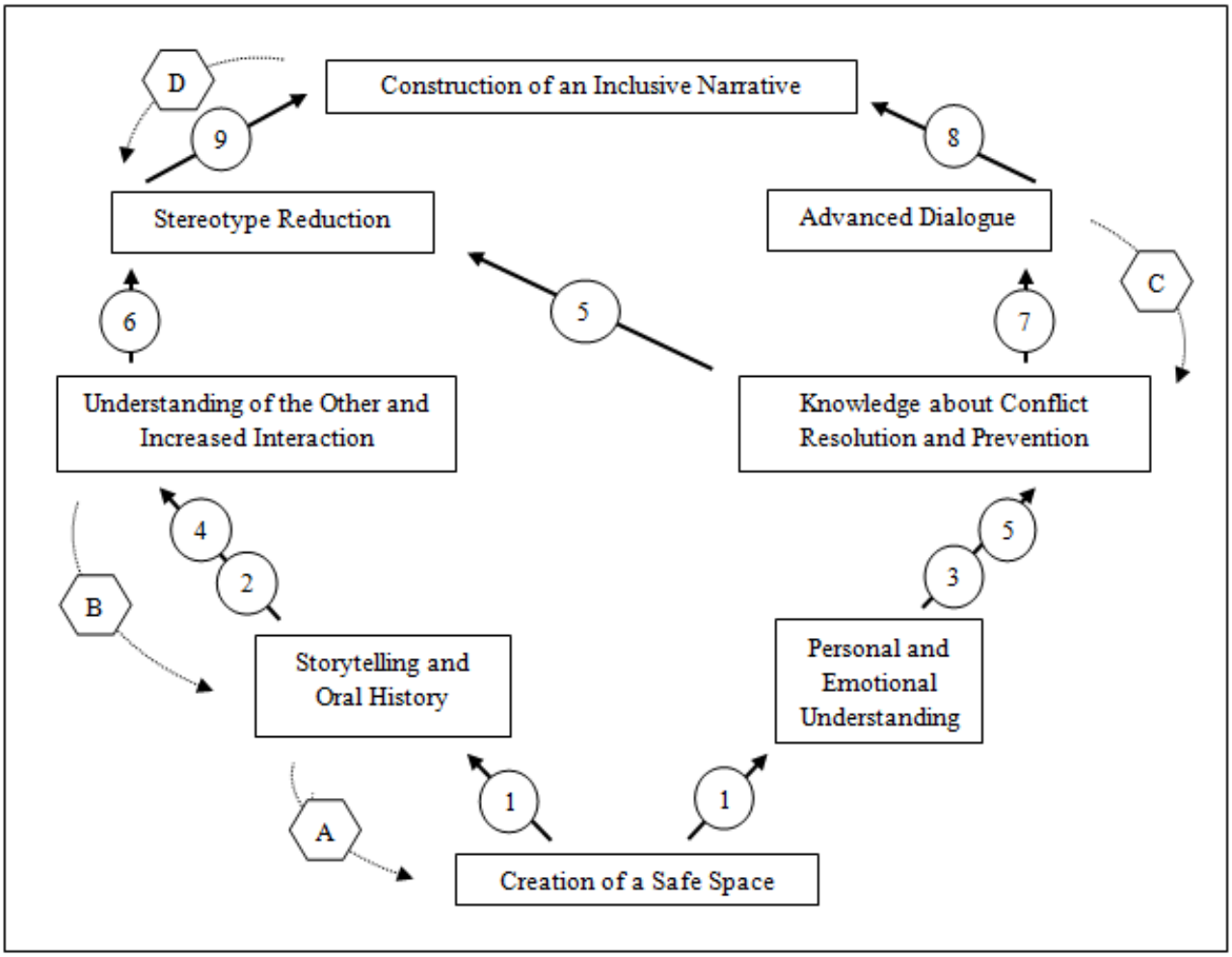
[126]IJR, 2008

conflict and knowing how to address it and prevent it, participants begin to realise that conflict can be prevented in part by building inclusive narratives about the other.

f) After being able to understand each other after *From Contestation to Cooperation* and learning about conflict cycles, the next step that the CHP works to address is un-doing harmful stereotypes to further increase understanding and lead to building an inclusive narrative. The activity called *Examining Stereotypes* works to deconstruct stereotypes by showing that they are not always accurate. Each person is given a label (brilliant, stupid, dishonest, leader) and then each is treated with the label they are wearing when discussing a given topic. After the exercise, participants are given time to debrief and relate to their own stereotypes. Knowing that harm that destructive stereotypes plays in escalating and continuing conflict, participants can begin to build an inclusive narrative. Stereotype reduction and advanced dialogue allow new narratives to be formed, not based on pre-existing assumptions, but based on getting to know others as unique individuals.

As mentioned when discussing the first long-term goal for CHP, it is important to note that this process is the ideal process, and not necessarily how things play out in reality. Figure 6.4 shows what a TOC model looks like when addressing the second long-term goal of the CHP and includes some of the possible negative feedback loops. Similarly to the Figures 6.1 and 6.2, Figures 6.3 and 6.4 look the same, except instead of mentioning the activities CHP uses, the boxes have information about what the short- and medium-term goals should be.

Figure 6.4: Theory of Change Model for Goal 2 of the Community Healing Project



After reviewing several theories and concepts that help to explain community reconciliation, I discovered that the following ideas were the most applicable in helping to explain how the activities mentioned in Figure 6.3 link together. The circled numbers linking the short-term and medium-term goals indicated in Figure 6.4 are explained below.

1. Cognitive Space and Permission: Just as in the first long-term goal, there is a chance that the safe space could become violated, making participants feel uncomfortable, leading to the need to re-establish a safe space either through new ground rules or a different location. This negative feedback loop is represented by the letter "A" in Figure 6.4. See the discussion regarding the creation of a safe space as articulated in the previous long-term goal of the CHP.[127]

[127] In effort to avoid being repetitive, where concepts and theories are repeated, I have made reference to their first mention in the first goal.

2. Storytelling: Storytelling is also used for the second long-term goal. Again, it is not guaranteed that storytelling will automatically lead to understanding; it sometimes necessary to re-tell a story or try to share one's perspective in a different way. This feedback loop is represented by the letter "B" in Figure 6.4. For more details, see the discussion regarding the creation of a safe space as mentioned in the first long-term goal of the CHP.

3. Emotional Literacy: The process of learning about conflict resolution and prevention begins with the recognition of one's own needs and concerns, especially as they relate to reconciliation and community healing. By providing individuals with the skills necessary to recognise and address their needs and concerns for the community, it helps them interpret their feelings (and learn to recognize the feelings of others) which leads to self-awareness and empowerment.[128]

4. Cognitive Reframing: See the discussion regarding cognitive reframing as mentioned in the first long-term goal of the CHP.

5. Learning: Shapiro identifies several different types of learning concepts that help form new, and more inclusive narratives. The first type uses individuals' pre-existing knowledge about conflict to either build upon or recode into new ways of thinking. Additionally, information about conflict is applied in other conflict-contexts which allows individuals to transfer that knowledge to their own unique context.[129]

6. Intergroup Contact Theory: See the discussion regarding intergroup contact as articulated in the first long-term goal of the CHP.

7. Learning by doing: Learning by doing is another form of conflict education. After learning about conflict cycles, conflict types, different ways to resolve or transform conflicts, and other theoretical information, individuals put their knowledge to test by interacting and communicating with others, and can involve opportunities for role playing. By using the information learned, constructive conversations and advanced dialogue should become less and less difficult.[130] One possible negative feedback loop would arise if participants feel as if they do not have adequate knowledge, requiring the need to provide more information before practicing. This loop is represented by the letter "C" in Figure 6.4.

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[128] Shapiro, 2005
[129] Shapiro, 2005; and Driscol, Marcy. 2005. *Psychology of Learning for Instruction*. 3rd Edition. Boston: Pearson - Allyn and Bacon
[130] Shapiro, 2005

8. Modelling and Social Learning: Once individuals have received a significant amount of knowledge about conflict, they can begin to practice the techniques they learned in a real-life setting, modelling their behaviour for others. The techniques that are part of conflict mitigation training encourage advanced dialogue and conversation.[131] This is the last main type of learning that takes place as part of the CHP.

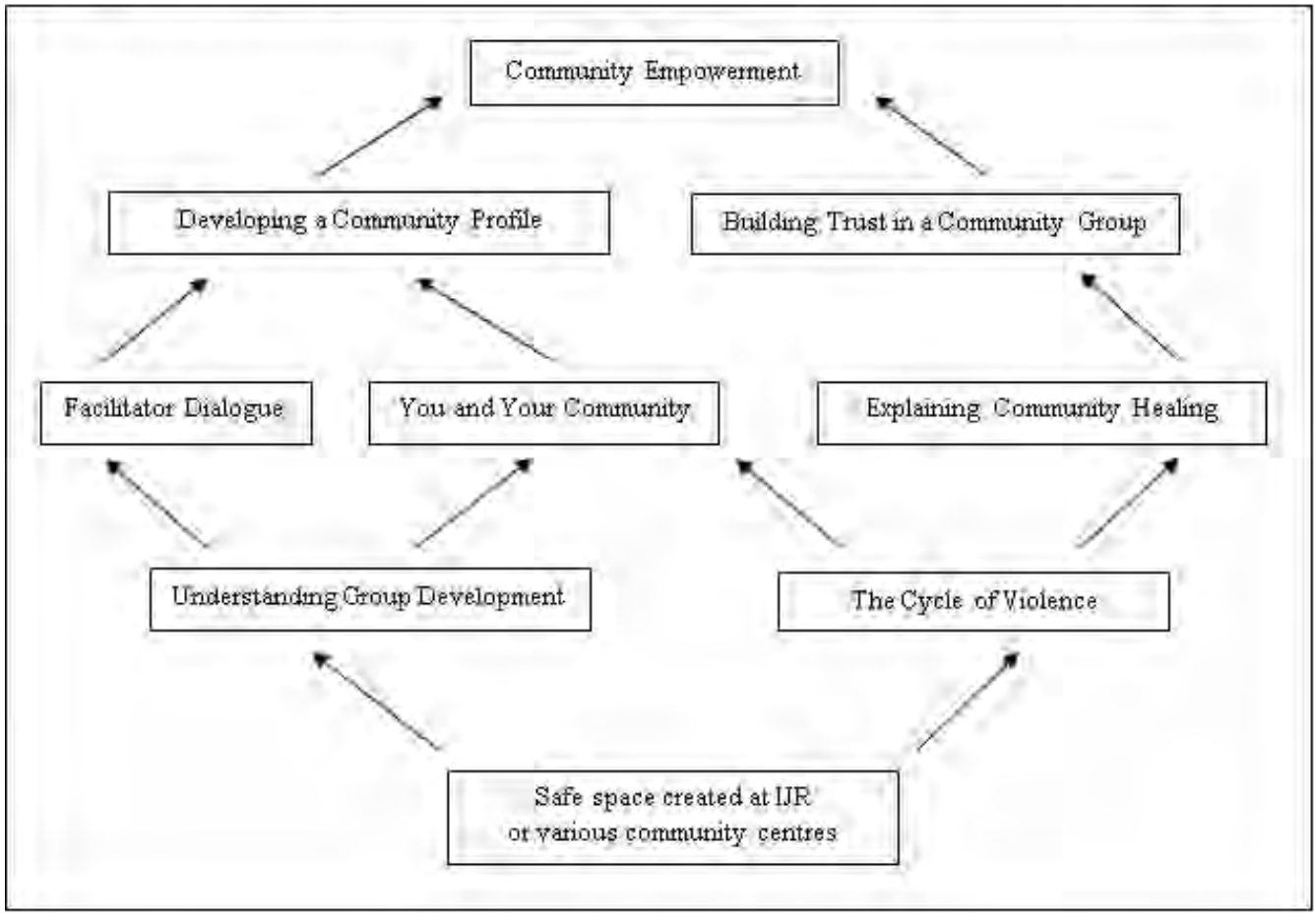
9. De-Categorisation and Re-Categorizsation: By increasing interaction and beginning to understand the other, individuals can begin to de-categorise pre-existing destructive narratives. When groups are formed on something other than ethnicity or racial classification, it becomes possible to find commonalities across other lines that can be used to re-categorise different groups. By mitigating the importance of race and ethnicity, interethnic relationships can form which further reduces pre-existing stereotypes.[132] This increases "their ability to see each other as persons, to respect each other, and to identify with the experiences of the other."[133] Theoretically, understanding of the other should lead to a reduction in stereotypes, but often times, past stereotypes are hard to reframe. The process of understanding the other in a different context might need to be repeated often. This negative feedback loops is represented by the letter "D" in Figure 6.4.

Goal 3: Empowerment of Communities

The last long-term goal focuses on building capacity to have a better future. The activities, as illustrated in Figure 6.5 are designed to lead to this goal. Figure 6.6 has the corresponding TOC model.

[131] Ibid.
[132] Shapiro, 2005; Vanbeselaere, 1991
[133] Van Ness, Daniel and Karen Keetderks Strong. 2006. "Encounter" an extract of original publication in G. Johnstone (ed.) *A Restorative Reader*. Oxon: Routledge. 82-95

Figure 6.5: Programme Model for Goal 3 of the Community Healing Project



After closely analysing the programme model, it is clear that the third goal of the CHP has this core process:

a) Just as in the previous two goals, this process starts with a creation of a safe space. This process uses techniques mentioned previously like ice breakers and introductions. While in the third goal, the space is not directly used for story telling or feelings of vulnerability, this space becomes a crucial learning environment. This space allows for individuals to learn, question, and practice without feeling threatened or judged.

b) After the space is established, two types of instruction occurs. The first is training and organisational support. This type of learning helps participants become familiar with group dynamics, leadership and facilitation, and organisational planning. One activity the CHP uses involves understanding group development. This foundation leads to capacity building and leadership within individuals. Another type of learning that takes place is education about conflict. This includes conflict resolution and prevention, conflict cycles, and other information

about conflict. The CHP uses a session called the *Cycle of Violence* to convey key concepts about conflict. This method is also used to achieving the first long-term goal as described above.

c) The conflict education allows participants to learn how to effectively collaborate with others and how promote community healing. This is done through instruction on how to have better dialogue, how to advance community relationships, and how to come to terms with the past. The CHP uses an activity called *Explaining Community Healing* to allow participants to take ownership over that knowledge and define what healing looks like in their individual communities. The CHP teaches participants that "community leaders who are able to sustain dialogue despite its complex nature regard tolerance as a key factor in negotiating and reaching compromises within the community."[134] The CHP has an activity called *Facilitator Dialogue* that requires participants to role play as facilitators and address a given issue or problem that might arise in communities. Additionally, the CHP implements an activity called *You and Your Community* in which participants examine their roles in the communities in which they belong.

d) The effects from the previous steps lead to working hands on by *Developing a Community Profile* and doing an activity called *Building Trust in a Community Group*. The *Developing a Community Profile* activity allows participants to fully engage with their communities by mapping neighbourhoods, putting together community timelines, detailing community sectors and identifying community development projects. The *Building Trust in a Community Group* activity is a role-play activity in which several participants play the role of members from opposing political groups, generations, and political activists. The group must then build a community by working through individual agendas to create a common goal.

e) The workshop allows participants to learn about community development, conflict, and how to build community relationships. This build capacity in the participants, and in the ideal sense, the participants take this knowledge to their home communities to conduct a healing workshop.

[134]IJR, 2008: 23

Figure 6.6: Programme Model for Goal 3 of the Community Healing Project

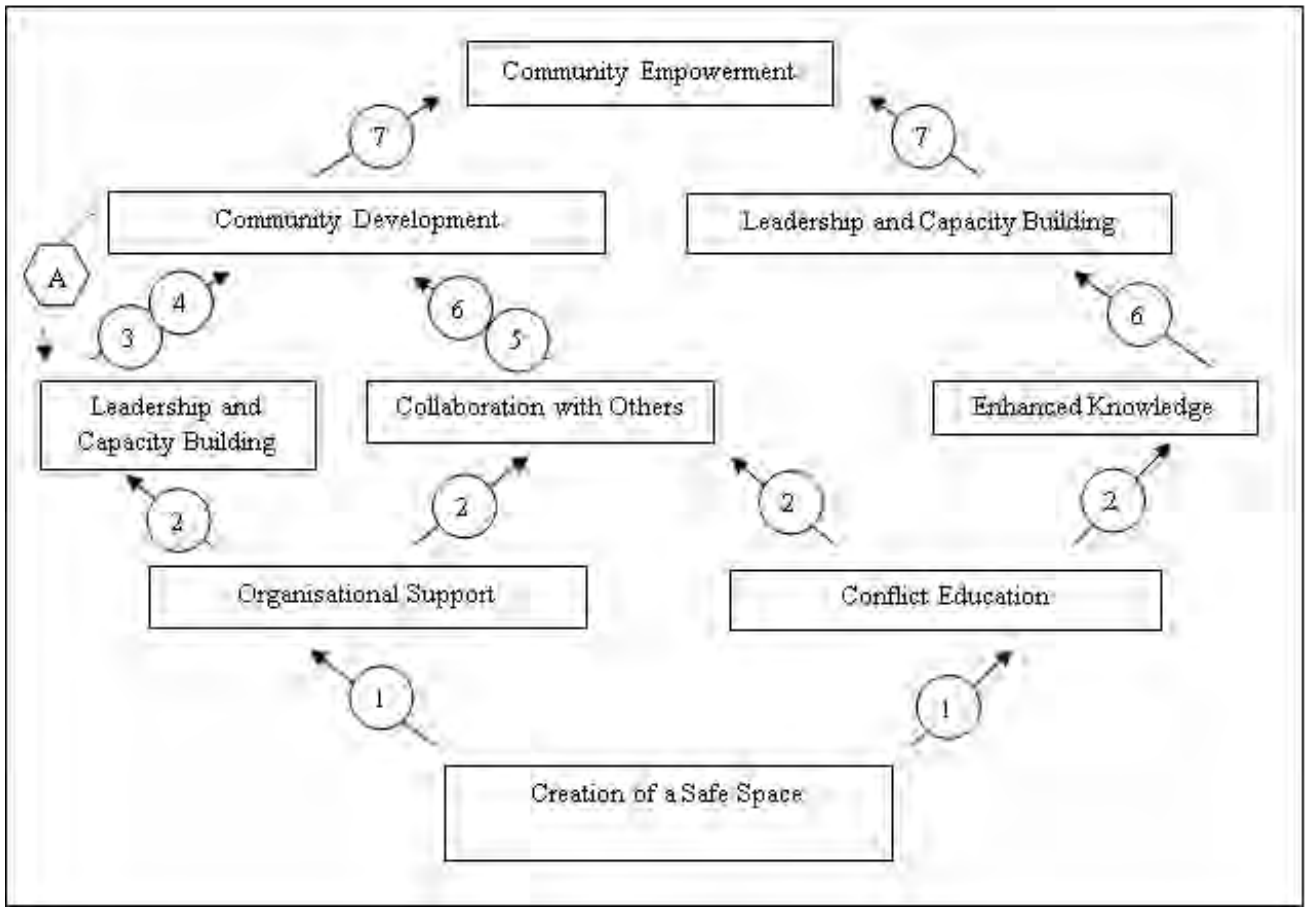


Figure 6.6 shows the TOC model for long-term goal three of the CHP. Just as with the other two goals, the figure looks similar to the programme model chart, but has the short-term and medium-term goals in place of the activities and each step is linked by a theory or concept.

1. Cognitive Space and Permission: See the discussion regarding cognitive space and permission as discussed as part of the first long-term goal of the CHP.

2. Learning: For Figure 6.6, the learning process is evident quite often, since much of goal three relies on skill building and capacity building. See the discussion regarding the learning process in the explanation of the second long-term goal of the CHP.

3. Rehearsal: Shapiro emphasises the principles behind behaviourist theory that indicate that by repeating or practicing new skills, individuals become better at developing and using skill sets. Individuals learn how to becomes leaders and practice that role.[135] Rehearsal also allows individual to gain confidence when practicing new skill sets. This is helpful for individuals who

[135] Driscol, 2005.

partake in the CHP workshop who take their skill sets back to their home communities after the completion of the workshop.

4. Modelling and Social Learning: Similar to rehearsal, modelling and social learning involves practicing techniques that can be applicable in a "real-life" setting. A potential for a negative feedback loop, however, is the possibility that more knowledge is required before one can begin modelling. This feedback loop is indicated by the letter "A" in Figure 6.6. For more details, see the discussion regarding modelling and social learning in the section explaining the theories behind the second long-term goal of the CHP.

5. Learning by Doing: See the discussion regarding learning by doing in the explanation of the second long-term goal of the CHP.

6. Insight and Awareness Process: See the articulation of the insight and awareness process in the explanation behind the first long-term goal of the CHP.

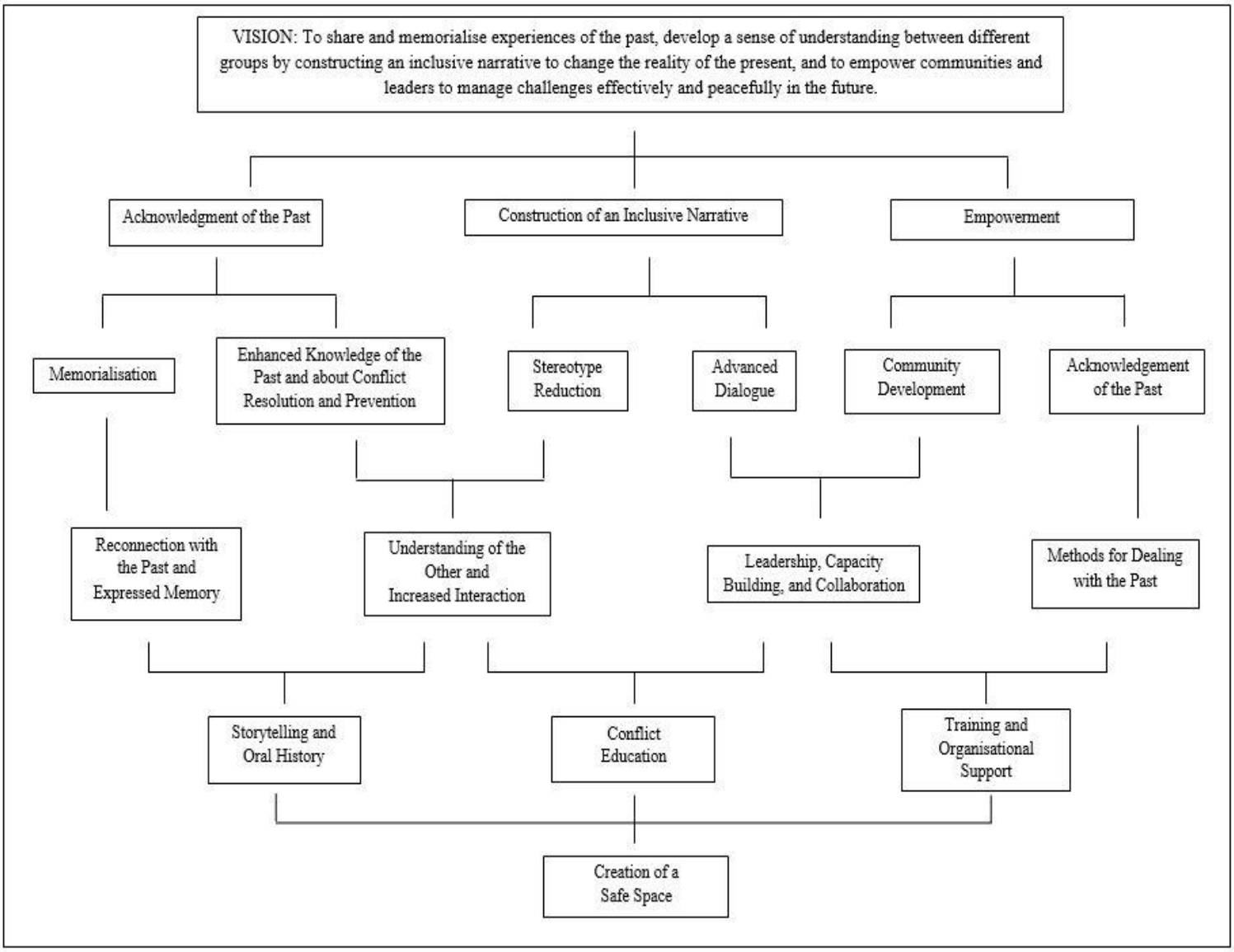
7. Critical Mass Theory: Critical mass theory states that if enough important community leaders are actively engaged in a project or a mission, a ripple effect will follow and spread to other community members. The hope with this goal is that if enough individuals participate, the individual learning will expand to the community level.[136]

Overall Theory of Change

The previous pages fully articulated and illustrated the step by step process that occurs within the CHP by breaking the vision down into three parts. This strategy proved to be the best way in which to adequately show programme processes and underlying theories. It is crucial, however, that the entire vision can be illustrated into one concise theory of change model. Figure 6.4 shows this holistic intervention strategy into one model. It is important to note that because the CHP has complex and multidimensional processes, it is often difficult to fit into one figure. Therefore, the following figure will only contain the most general level of program processes since the previous figures split up those processes into detail. By having one concise depiction of a TOC model, it becomes easy for stakeholders, donors, and other individuals to take a quick glance at the overall CHP processes.

[136] Oliver, Pamela. 2013. "Critical Mass Theory." *Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*.

Figure 6.7: TOC Model for the Community Healing Project



The Institute for the Healing of Memories

The Institute for the Healing of Memories (IHOM) originally started as an individual project in 1993, called the Chaplaincy Project, housed under the Trauma Centre for Victims of Violence and Torture (the Trauma Centre) based in Cape Town.[137] The Chaplaincy Project was created to provide counselling to victims of apartheid-era crimes by Father Michael Lapsley, who was an apartheid victim himself. During his exile in Zimbabwe, he was the recipient of a parcel bomb which caused "the loss of both of this hands, sight in one eye, and permanent injury to his eardrums."[138] Through the Chaplaincy Project, the Healing of Memories (HOM) workshops were developed to allow for group reflection and healing. Due to the widespread scope of the work, the Chaplaincy Project, and therefore the HOM workshops, became independent from the Trauma Centre in 1998 and formed the basis of what is now the IHOM with a vision that "seeks to contribute to the healing journey of individuals, communities, and nations."[139] In the early 2000s, IHOM established a permanent base in Cape Town, and opened an office in Durban, followed by an international office based in New York in 2008. In addition to the aforementioned countries in which the Chaplaincy Project worked, the Institute also does work in Ireland, Australia and Lesotho.

While not as large as IJR mentioned previously, IHOM offers a medium-sized comparison for the case study. The IHOM is home to four different, but related, programmes aimed to promote its core vision.[140] Similarly to IJR, all programmes work to strengthen communities and promote reconciliation; the focus for this study, however, will be on the HOM workshops.

Community Context

The HOM workshops were initially designed to address the direct legacies from the systematic abuse during the apartheid. In developing the program while housed in the Trauma Centre, the goal was to ensure that every South African had the opportunity to tell her or his story, not just those who qualified to testify at the TRC. Due to the TRC's narrow definition of victims as those

[137] The name has since changed to the Trauma Centre for Survivors and Violence of Torture.
[138] Rucell, Jessica. 2011. "Transitional Justice and South Africa: Exploring Healing from Legacies of Violence." *International Institute of Social Studies*. Unpublished thesis. 10
[139] IHOM Website. 2015. http://www.healing-memories.org/
[140] The four programmes are the Healing of Memories workshops, the Youth Development project, the Restoring Humanities programme and, its newest programme as of 2013, the Community Healing Project.

who had suffered from human rights violations, other South African who experienced other types of injustice during the apartheid regime were not included in the TRC process. The HOM workshops became a safe place where all individuals affected by apartheid could speak out. When aiming to encourage racial reconciliation, the HOM workshops focused on bringing together individuals from different racial and ethnic background to participate in the process. The focus has shifted, however, due to the contemporary issues that affect South Africans including HIV/AIDs, class divisions, gangsterism, sexual violence, refugees and xenophobia, re-integration of ex-combatants, gender equality, forced removals and other social and/or economic issues that threaten communities and relationships.[141] Most of the aforementioned issues are arguably direct or indirect consequences from the apartheid itself or from the unaddressed legacies of apartheid; the unique post-conflict setting in South Africa involved "past and present traumas and conflicts" that "are often layered and interact" in the community and individual context."[142]

Programme Vision

Upon creation of the HOM workshops, the vision was designed to "facilitate reconciliation between racial groups and to heal emotional wounds, in order that individuals might contribute positively toward the reconstruction of South Africa."[143] As mentioned, however, the focus of the HOM workshops has shifted over time to address more than racial reconciliation. While the discourse, research, and programme design regarding the vision has changed, the actual wording of the vision has remained the same since the programme's inception; the original race-based vision is still apparent on the IHOM website and in IHOM annual reports. For the purposes of this research, however, I modified the vision of the HOM workshops so that it may reflect the current discourse and design of the program.

> *The vision of the Healing of Memories workshops is to facilitate reconciliation between groups and communities and to heal emotional wounds by encouraging individual and social change to embolden individuals to contribute positively towards the reconstruction of South Africa.*

[141] Rucell, 2011; and Loumoumou, Loret. 2013. "Healing of Memories Workshops Programme in the Western Cape." Institute for the Healing of Memories, 2013 Annual Report. 18
[142] Kayser, Undine. 2000. "Creating a Space for Encounter and Remembrance: The Healing of Memories Process." Research report written for the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation and the Institute for the Healing of Memories
[143] IHOM, 2015

This vision, while ultimately very similar to the original, does not limit the HOM workshops to just racial reconciliation. The specific strategies employed to achieve the vision will be outlined in the next section.

Target

While the Institute's vision is to heal individuals, communities, and nations, the HOM workshops specifically target individual change. This individual change, however, is the catalyst for social and behavioural change within communities.[144] Each workshop involves anywhere between twenty and thirty individuals with the hopes that after completing the workshops, the individuals will return to their communities and be leaders of positive change and community healing. Fatima Swartz, the Programme Manager at IHOM argues that even though the emphasis is placed on individuals and addressing individual pain, "pain doesn't happen in a vacuum" and individuals are always part of larger groups that have a collective pain.[145] Additionally, healing "reaches beyond the individual level and affects the community level as well…it's about our national story and how we can create communities of healing."[146]

Steps in Project Implementation

Following the structure outlined in Chapter 4 regarding building a TOC, the isolation of specific goals can only begin after identifying the context and creating a vision to address the contextual needs. Those steps have been completed above. The next step is to isolate specific long-term goals within the vision of the HOM workshops and to work backward identifying short and medium term goals that can lead to the vision. Based on the vision above and by analysing the steps taken in the HOM workshops, two main long-term goals can be identified: individual emotional healing and recognition of a common humanity through mutual understanding.

Goal 1: Individual Emotional Healing

The first long-term goal that will lead to the vision of the HOM workshops is broken down into its own programme model. Figure 6.8 shows how the progression of goals and strategies that ultimately lead to the first long-term goal. The HOM workshops facilitate individual emotional healing through their process as shown below.

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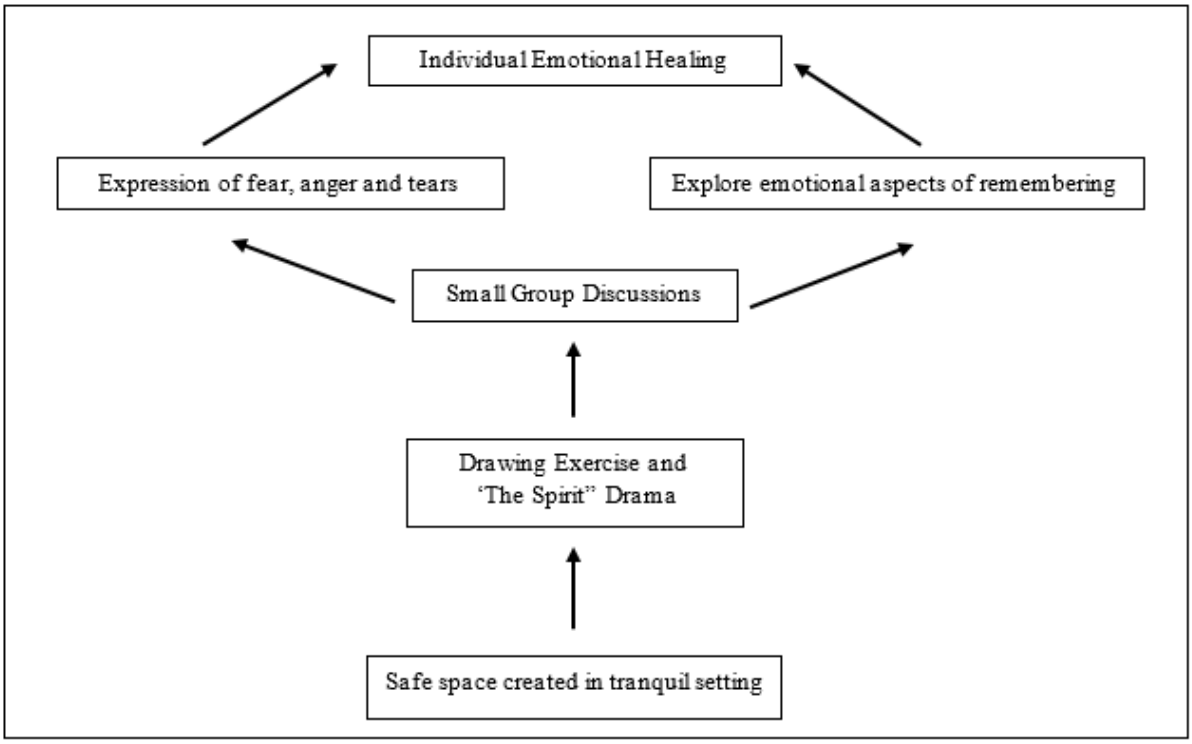
[144] IHOM, 2015; Rucell, 2011; and Niyodusenga, Alphonse and Karakashian, Stephen. 2007. "Programme Evaluation of Healing of Memories Workshops." IHOM.
[145] Interview with Fatima Swartz, 20 January 2015.
[146] Interview with Fatima Swartz, 22 July 2014.

Figure 6.8: Programme Model for Goal 1 of the Healing of Memories workshops



After closely analysing the programme model, it is clear that the first goal of the HOM workshop has this core process:

a) First, the IHOM stresses the creation of a safe space. Through the examination of the literature about HOM practices, the idea of a safe space appeared several times, though through a variety of terms like "telling space," "sacred space", and "listening space" in conjunction with "safe space."[147] The safe space that IHOM creates for its HOM workshops is usually a secluded space away from participants' home communities. This allows for a feeling of isolation and security and provides a mental and physical escape from the reality of the issues being discussed.[148] Norms for group interaction in the safe space are established during the first encounter.

b) After creating a safe space, the HOM workshops include a variety of methods to encourage storytelling. The first is an element of drama that allows participants to watch a 20-minute play that shows scenes from apartheid that participants can often relate to. This kind of storytelling often evokes painful memories in the participants, and the facilitators of the

[147]Kayser, 2000
[148]Kayser, 2000; Rucell, 2011

workshops encourage reflection and personal storytelling about those memories and feelings in the big group setting. On the second day of the workshops, participants are encouraged to illustrate their memories and emotions through colours and symbols by drawing their feelings and life stories on newsprint. Then, in small groups, participants again resort to storytelling to share their illustrations with others.

c) As mentioned, after using drama and art, participants break into small groups to discuss their feelings about their experiences and share their stories. Throughout this storytelling, the facilitators of the HOM workshops encourage compassionate listening. This compassionate listening allows the storytellers to feel that she or he is truly heard and understood by being listened to in a caring and compassionate environment.

d) Because of the ability to be truly heard in the small group environment, participants often have feelings of catharsis, or letting go, by being able to express their feelings and memories. This often leads to expressions of fear, anger and sadness.[149] Additionally, telling stories out loud leads to healing and feelings of validation due to the acknowledgment by others of their feelings. By exploring their memories, participants begin to process the emotional aspects of their memories which leads to self-understanding. This last step leads to the first long-term goal of individual emotional healing.

[149]Kayser, 2000

Figure 6.9: TOC Model for Goal 1 of the Healing of Memories workshops

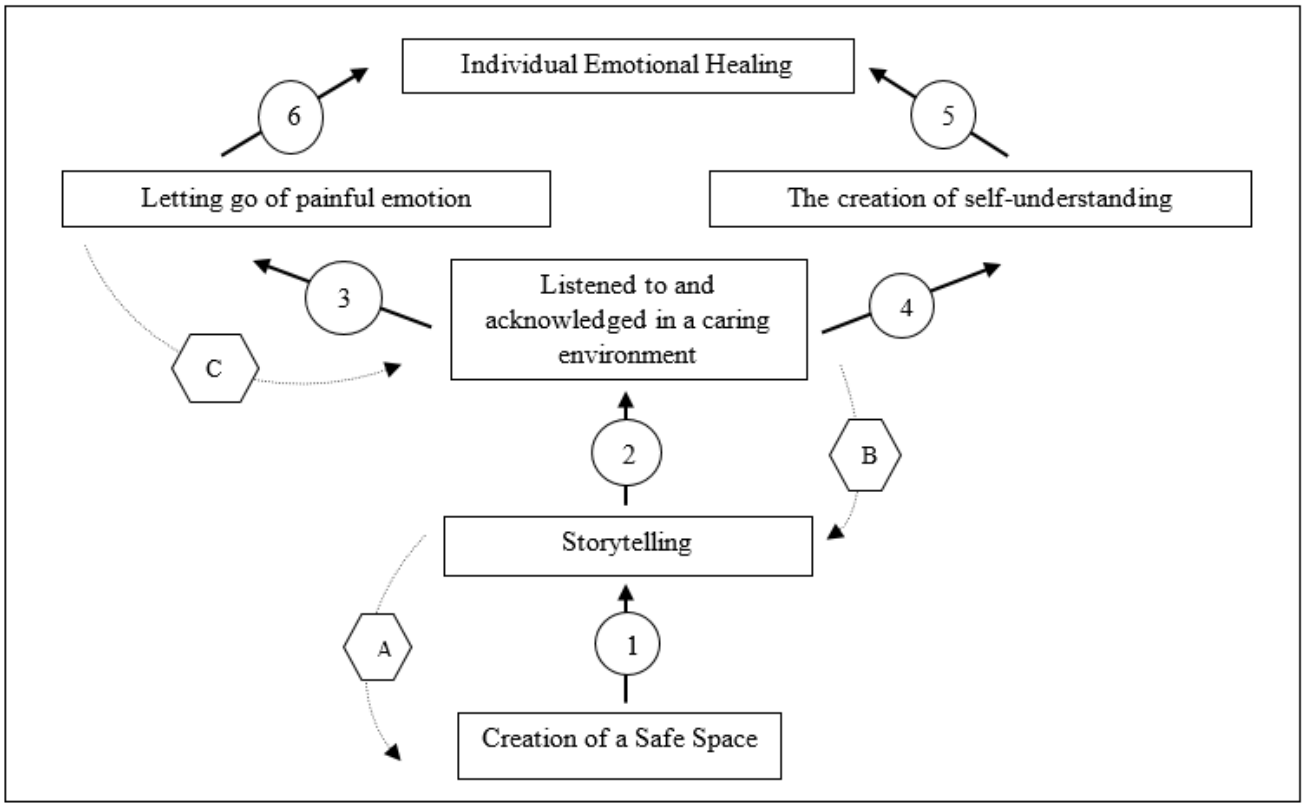


Figure 6.9 explains the processes outlined above by adding the theories and concepts behind each step. By adding theory, each step becomes linked. Similarly to the long-term goals in the CHP, the TOC model should look very similar to the programme model, with the exception of added theories and goals, rather than just activities and strategies. This model was created by first starting with the context, adding the vision, and then working backwards to identify the correct stops. Table 6.9 provides detailed explanation about the underlying theories that guide the process as shown in Figure 6.8.

1. Cognitive Space and Permission: The first idea present in for the HOM workshops is the significance of cognitive space and permission. This safe environment is used to ensure that all participants feel comfortable in sharing stories and building relationships. Additionally, a safe space allows participants to temporarily remove themselves from everyday issues that might hinder reconciliatory progress. The establishment of a safe space is a crucial step in beginning

the healing process.[150] If the space begins to become threatened or if individuals feel as if they cannot share their ideas, advancement to other steps in the process can become difficult, resulting in a negative feedback loop that leads back to forming a safe space again. This feedback loop is represented by the letter "A" in Figure 6.9. For more information, see the articulation of cognitive space and permission in the goals of the CHP.

2. Storytelling: Storytelling inherently allows people to share their perspectives and give value and weight to their own interpretation of past events. This also helps individuals understand each other's memories and either share the memory or provide a different interpretation of the memory which can enhance empathy and draw connections across divisions.[151] One potential challenge, however is that storytelling can yield competing narratives and different truths and others are not able to understand different perspectives or share similar memories. If this happens, stories might been to be retold and understood in different ways. This negative feedback loop is represented by the letter "B" in Figure 6.9. In the case that the safe space becomes violated, the need to recreate the feelings of safety and security is crucial. This step could take hours or days, or may never happen for some individuals. If individuals feel they are not being heard, sometimes it is necessary to return to the storytelling process and rephrase or retell a story. If retraumatization occurs for an individual, it is imperative that she or he knows that the environment is one in which everyone is caring and compassionate.

3. Catharsis: Individual change can be created by "surfacing and expressing emotions" to "release frozen psychological processes, patterns of thought and behaviour, and aspects of the self to facilitate healing."[152] Through the process of being able to tell one's story, and subsequently being listened to, one is able to let go of the painful emotion by truly expressing feelings through anger or sadness. This can help to de-escalate highly emotional situations in post conflict settings. Furthermore, by following cathartic therapy logic, expressing emotions verbally by yelling out or crying "can release frozen psychological processes, patterns of thought and behaviour, and aspects of the self to facilitate healing."[153] A potential negative feedback loop can arise if people have the desire to let go of painful memories, but they feel as if they are in a caring environment. This is indicated by the letter "C" in Figure 6.9.

[150]Pranis, 2005.
[151]Ibid.
[152]Shapiro, 2005: 4
[153]Ibid.

4. Insight and Awareness Processes: By sharing stories and listening to others, individuals will begin to understand different perspectives which helps to raise awareness of the other and change attitudes and behaviours. Hearing others' stories allows for the potential to see events and circumstances in different lights, possibly creating what some practitioners consider to be an "aha" moment where true understanding of the other can begin.[154] See more about the insight and awareness process in the explanation of the CHP goals above.

5. Emotional Literacy: The process of learning about conflict resolution and prevention begins with the recognition of one's own needs and concerns, especially as they relate to reconciliation and community healing. By providing individuals with the skills necessary to recognise and address their needs and concerns for the community, it helps them interpret their feelings (and learn to recognize the feelings of others) which leads to self-awareness and empowerment. Participants are more able to reflect on and interpret their feelings, which promotes self-awareness.[155]

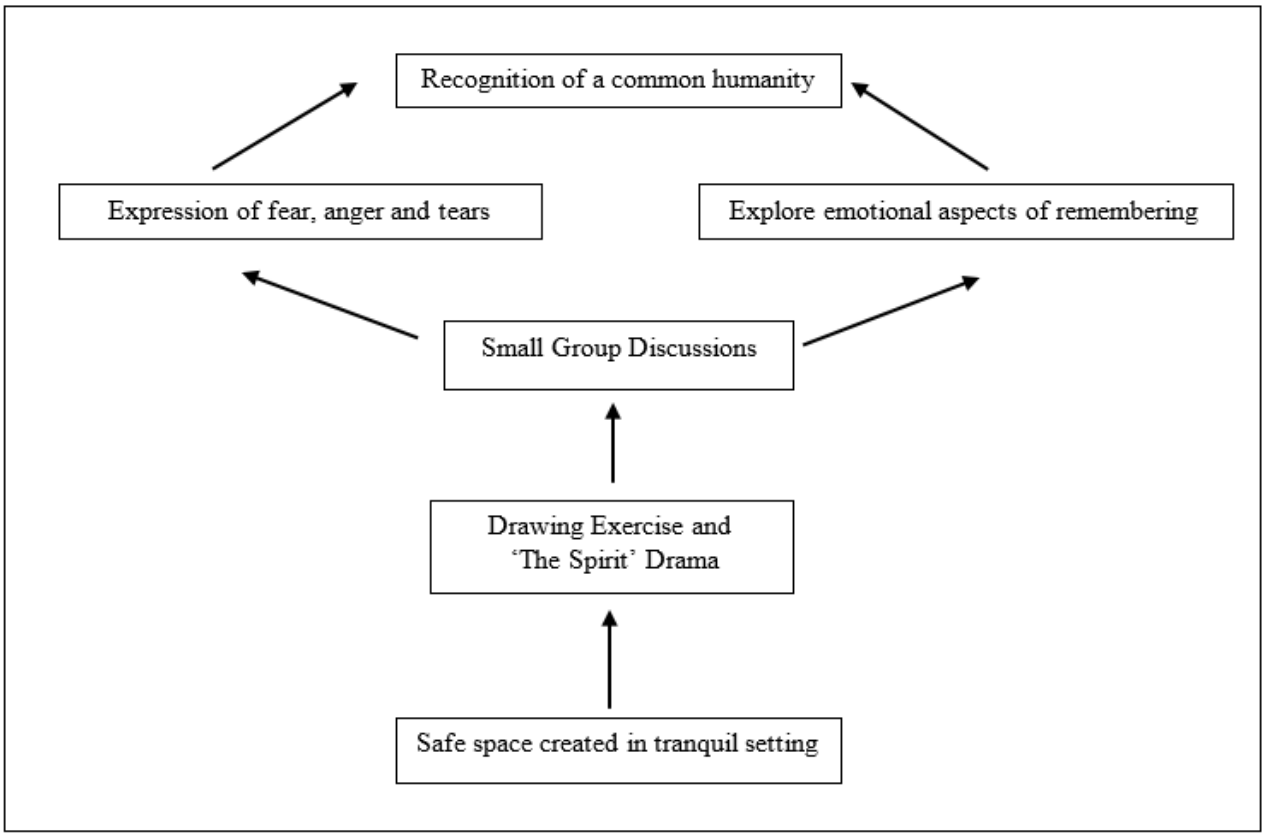
6. Acknowledgement and Forgiveness: In order to work toward emotional healing, individuals often find it necessary to transcend their victimhood stereotype. One way to aid in this transition is by acknowledging the wrongdoings of the past and forgiving those who caused harm.[156]

Goal 2: Recognition of Common Humanity

The second long-term goal is to encourage recognition of a community humanity. The programme model in Figure 6.10 looks almost identical to the programme model in Figure 6.8. This is because the implementation methods and activities used are the same that were used for the first long-term goal. What makes the two goals different, however, will become apparent when exploring the underlying theories and concepts.

[154]Fisher, Ronald. 2001. "Social-Psychological Processes in Interactive Conflict Analysis and Reconciliation." In M. Abu-Nimer (ed.) *Reconcilation, Justice, and Coexistence: Theory and Practice*. Lanham: Lexington Books. 25-45; and Shapiro, 2005: 4.
[155]Shapiro, 2005.
[156]Montville, 1993.

Figure 6.10: Programme Model for Goal 2 of the Healing of Memories workshops



The HOM workshops promote a recognition of a common humanity through the following steps:

a) Just like the first goal, the HOM workshops first address the need for a safe space. As mentioned during the explanation of the first goal, this safe space is important because it allows for feelings of security, both mentally and physically.

b) Again, after the creation of the safe space, the drama and art activities are used to promote storytelling in small groups.

c) Unlike in the previous goal where emphasis on the storytelling in small groups was on the person telling the story, the second goal is achieved by emphasising the importance of listening to others' perspectives. By witnessing others tell their stories in an environment that encourages understanding and appreciation of the other, individuals start to really hear what the other is saying. During this process, it is about learning to respect other peoples' voices, which can create a common group for empathy that "transcends stereotypes and historical

boundaries."[157] This process leads to a cognitive reframing that allows individuals to experience a sense of cognitive dissonance in which what they have thought about others becomes reframed through listening to their stories.

d) The storytelling processes often lead to feelings of catharsis, or letting go. While in the previous goal this was deemed important because of the opportunity it provided to give the person telling the story emotional and mental clarity, this goal is about the importance of having others witness other participants experience those moments. This creates feelings of empathy and sympathy by interacting and hearing others' stories. As a result, individuals begin to recognize that stories and memories are similar, which allows for a recognition of a common humanity.

Figure 6.11: TOC Model for Goal 2 of the Healing of Memories workshops

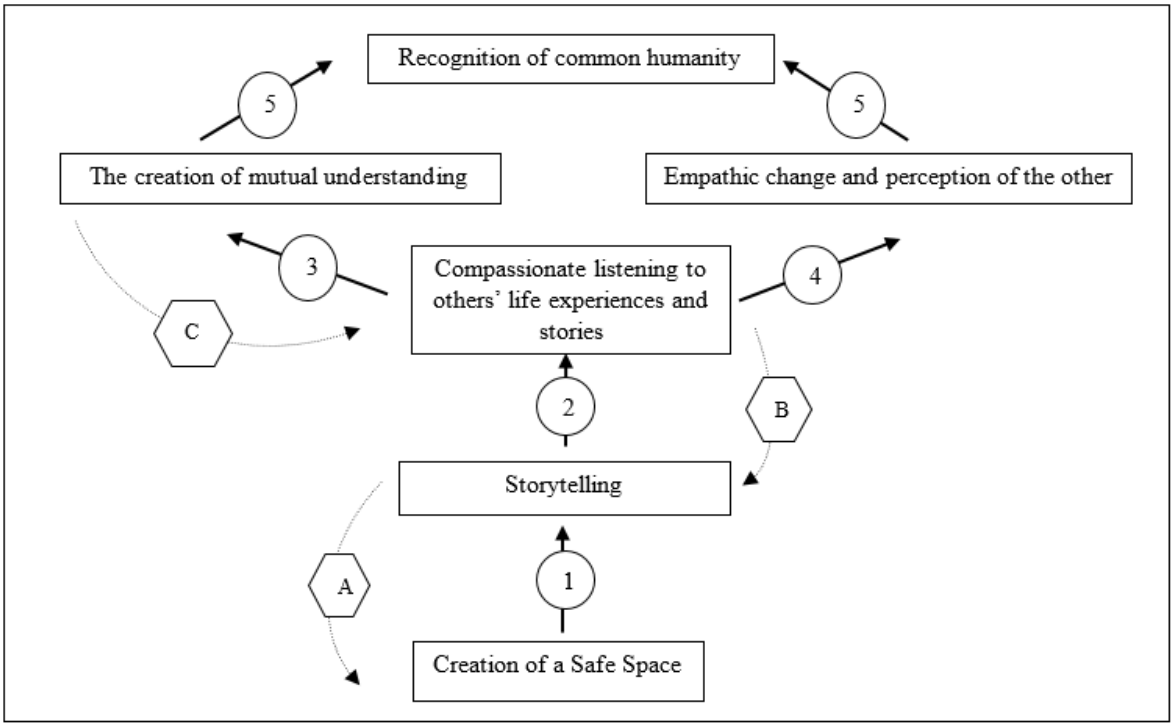


Figure 6.11 takes the programme model in 6.10 and adds the goals, theories, concepts, and feedback loops to better explain the process. The following concepts are used to achieve the second long-term goal:

1. Cognitive Space and Permission: See the discussion regarding the creation of a safe space in the explanation of the first long-term goal of the HOM workshops.

[157]Kayser, 2000

2. Storytelling: See the discussion regarding the concept of storytelling in the first-long term goal of the HOM workshops. One difference as described above, however, is that the key to this theory is not being able to have a personal story told, but rather to listen to someone else's story.

3. Insight and Awareness Processes: See the discussion regarding the insight and awareness process as it pertains to the first long-term goal of the HOM workshops.

4. Cognitive Reframing: Sharing oral history and telling stories of past memories also necessarily brings about different interpretations of the past. This has the potential to cause cognitive dissonance among groups and individuals. Others can express or comment on those differences, which leads to a deeper understanding of the past and allows for the possibility to reshape a previously held narrative.[158]

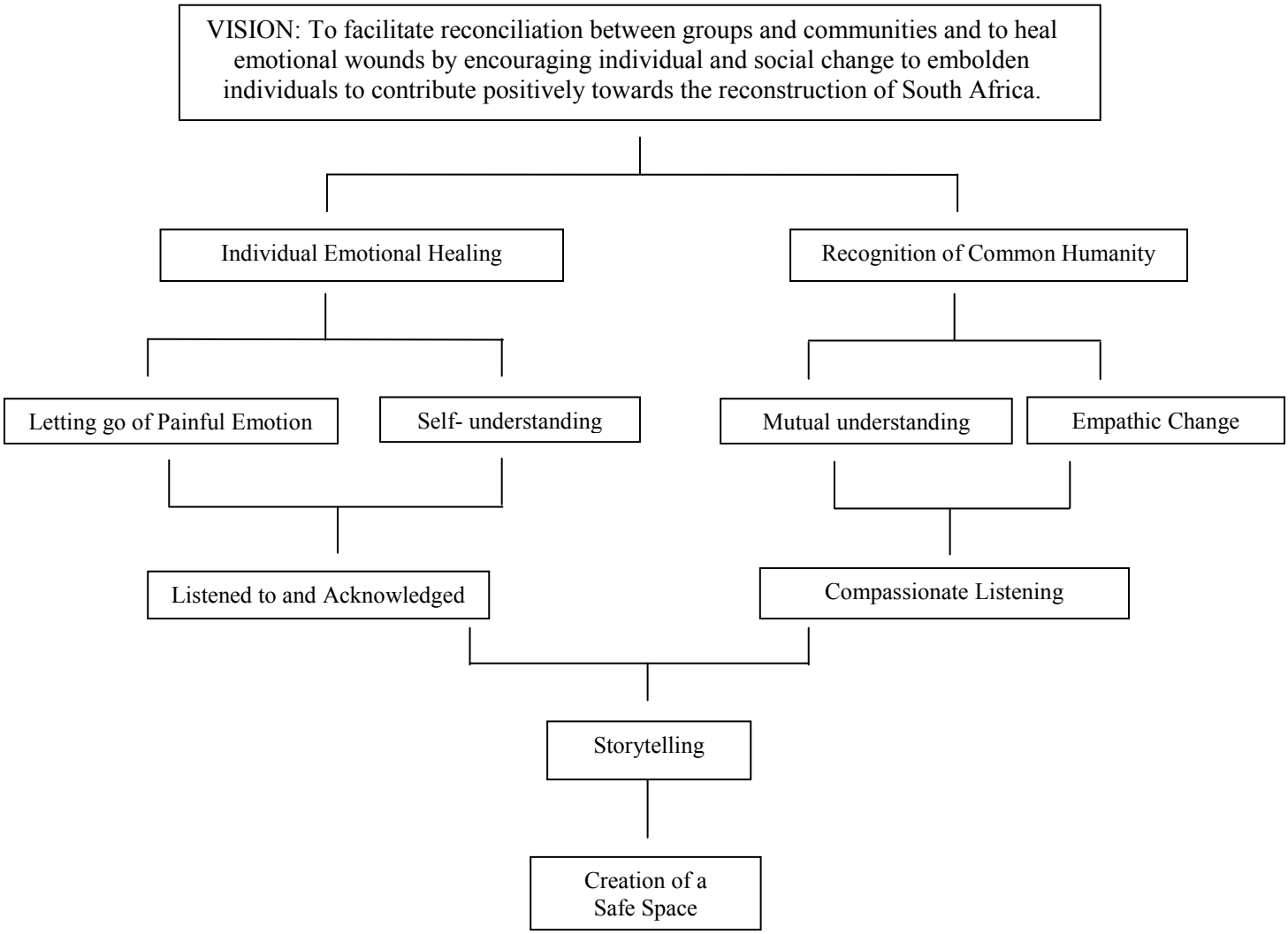
5. De-categorization and Re-categorization: By increasing interaction and beginning to understand the other, individuals can begin to de-categorise pre-existing destructive narratives. When groups are formed on something other than ethnicity or racial classification, it becomes possible to find commonalities across other lines that can be used to re-categorise different groups. By mitigating the importance of race and ethnicity, interethnic relationships can form which further reduces pre-existing stereotypes.[159]

Overall Theory of Change

By coming the two goals expressed above, the overall theory of change for the HOM workshops becomes apparent. Figure 6.12 shows the combined steps. For the purpose of simplicity, this picture will only show the most basic steps discussed above. The smaller individual goals allow for the more detailed explanation of the steps.

[158]Fisher, 2001; Shapiro, 2005.
[159]Montville, 1993.

Figure 6.12: Intervention Model for the Healing of Memories Workshops



Chapter 7 : Research Findings and Conclusions

Introduction

This chapter ties together the information collected from the research process and discusses several findings. First, the case studies are compared and contrasted in detail an effort to answer the research questions outlined in Chapter 5. The first research question, relating to how the case studies make sense of community reconciliation and strategies used to promote intended outcomes is broken down into three parts in this chapter. Overall, I found that the way the two case studies conceptualise reconciliation and use strategies to achieve the projects' intended outcomes were similar. The second research question, which asks what additional information is needed to apply a theory of change (TOC) framework to a community reconciliation intervention, and how that information is discursively mapped, is also discussed in detail in this chapter. I found that the application of a TOC framework requires significantly more information about *why* the reconciliation projects work, rather than *how* they work. This includes in depth information about underlying concepts and theories that help to explain the reconciliation projects. Lastly, to answer the third research question, which centres on the applicability of a TOC model, I make the case that the use of a TOC framework is not only an extremely helpful tool when designing and describing community reconciliation projects, but that it is also necessary for the clear articulation of community reconciliation projects. The benefits of the framework are discussed in detail.

In addition to answering the research questions, I reflect back on the post-transitional justice (post-TJ) context, initially introduced in Chapter 2, and provide evidence found from the research regarding how the case studies specifically operate within the post-TJ phase. Finally, I provide information about further research relating to TOC and community reconciliation.

Research Question Observations

Research Question 1: How do the case studies make sense of community reconciliation and what strategies are used to achieve their intended outcomes?

The first research question asks how the case studies understand community reconciliation and what strategies are used to achieve the intended outcome. As explained in Chapter 5, this question can be broken down into three separate parts: a conceptualisation of reconciliation; an examination of strategies and activities; and analysis of their intended outcomes. With regard to

how the organisations conceptualise reconciliation, neither the CHP nor the HOM workshops identify a clear definition of community reconciliation based on the key informant interviews and the document analysis. This lack of a clear conceptualisation, however, is not a surprise. As indicated in Chapter 3, rather than limiting reconciliation to one definition, organisations develop strategies and programmes that intend to bring about reconciliation in a myriad of ways and across several lines of division, so narrowing down a definition would be necessarily exclusive. Furthermore, as is often found when conducting field research, the term "reconciliation" is not often used beyond an academic context; Hamber and Kelly found in their research of a reconciliation-based organisation in Northern Ireland that the people with whom the organisation frequently worked had little to no understanding about what "reconciliation" is or means. The participants do, however, relate to the concept of building connections, addressing the past, and moving forward.[160]

Even though neither CSO project identified a singular definition, the broad conceptualisations put forth by the organisations, do however encompass the key characteristics that were highlighted in Chapter 3. These characteristics were pulled from the relevant literature pertaining to components of community reconciliation. The first characteristic, a mutual understanding and a recognition of a shared humanity, is evident in the medium- and long-term goals for both organisations. For the CHP, one medium-term goal identified, as illustrated in Figure 6.4, is the increased interaction and the understanding between individuals. The CHP works to accomplish this through the storytelling activities and the encouragement of cognitive reframing, a concept highlighted in detail in Chapter 6. The HOM workshops also articulate the recognition of common humanity as a long-term goal, illustrated in Figure 6.11. It works to achieve this goal through encouraging storytelling, intergroup contact and cognitive reframing, similar to the CHP.

The second characteristic, a reconnection or reformation of relationships, is also shared in both case studies. The concepts relevant to both projects include their use of storytelling, encouraging insight and awareness, cognitive reframing, and intergroup contact. The common memory and heritage concept, as explained in Figure 6.2, is especially connected to this

[160] Hamber, Brandon and Kelly, Grainne. 2009. "Too Deep, Too Threatening: Understandings of Reconciliation in Northern Ireland," in H. van der Merwe, et al. (eds.) *Assessing the Impact of Transitional Justice: Challenges for Empirical Research*, USIP Press, Washington DC.

characteristic of reconciliation. By realising that others have similar experiences, a connection is formed that has the potential to transcend divisions. Both the CHP and the HOM workshops use this concept.

The third characteristic of reconciliation highlighted in Chapter 3 is the implication that the process of working toward reconciliation is more important than the product of achieving reconciliation. As is evident in Chapter 6, the emphasis placed on the process greatly outweighs the product of reconciliation. Since much of Chapter 6 is devoted to outlining and explaining the reconciliation processes that the projects use, it is clear that much of the reconciliation work is done through this process. Additionally, each organisation recognises that the overall vision of the projects (i.e. the product of reconciliation) takes generations to accomplish.[161]

The second part of the research question pertains to the chosen strategies and activities used to achieve the intended outcomes. With regard to strategy, both the CHP and the HOM projects have similar approaches. Each conducts a two to three day training (a few shorter workshops and seminars are also used, but not studied for this research) designed to remove participants from the "real world." The CHP chooses to conduct the workshops either at IJR or other community centres where a safe space can be established without the worry of every-day tasks getting in the way. The HOM workshops usually take place in a tranquil setting, also with the purposes of disconnecting participants from the everyday life; this setting is also meant to emulate a safe space. The importance of establishing a safe space came up frequently in the literature and in the research of the case studies, and is seen as a crucial component because it gives participants ownership of the space and provides both physical and emotional safety.

The concept found in the literature that supports this is that of cognitive space and permission, as described in Chapter 6. The creation of a safe space is shared across several community reconciliation projects, including the Tree of Life in Zimbabwe, the Healing Through Remembering Project in Northern Ireland, and Fambul Tok in Sierra Leone. As originally explained following Figure 6.2, storytelling is so crucial as an activity and a concept because it allows people to share their perspectives and give value to their own interpretations of past events. This shared in conjunction with the safe space allows people to feel valued, respected and acknowledged.

[161] Interview with Fatima Swartz, May 2015; Interview with Kenneth Lukuko, 22 June 2015.

In regard to the activities used, both the CHP and the HOM workshops use a variety of activities in their reconciliation processes. The CHP necessarily has a larger assortment of activities because their long-term goals are slightly different and cover a broader range of issues (I identified three long-term goals for the CHP as opposed to two for the HOM workshops), but several activities used in the organisations are similar in nature. The River of Life activity, for example, requires participants in the CHP to illustrate their lives by linking them to a metaphor of a river that undergoes twists and turns. Similarly, the art activity at the HOM workshops encourages participants to illustrate their memories and emotions through colours and symbols. Both projects use these art activities as a starting point for their storytelling activities, which promote the sharing of oral histories and personal experiences, which is the first short-term goal listed for both projects. The use of storytelling as an activity is also used in the aforementioned reconciliation projects in Zimbabwe, Northern Ireland, and in Sierra Leone, as explained in Chapter 3.

Despite the some similarity in activities used, there were a few activities that were not shared between the different projects. For example, the CHP placed emphasis on memorialisation and facilitating ways to bring about memorialisation, which is one of the long-term goals. The instance explained in the CHP project was the memorial bridge built to show the physical linkage between the two neighbourhoods. For the HOM workshops, memorialisation is not a priority, and instead more emphasis was placed on achieving a sense of catharsis. While participants who partake in the CHP workshops probably also experience catharsis to some degree, the importance of experiencing this is not explicitly outlined in the CHP process. These differences do not translate to a strength on one side and a weakness on the other, but instead shows that similar community reconciliation projects can include different activities designed to achieve reconciliation.

Interestingly, while both projects advocate that they are community reconciliation interventions, the targets of their projects are on the individuals. In interviews with both of the organisations' coordinators, the idea of individual change as a prerequisite for group and community change was prevalent. Ms. Swartz indicated that individual pain and collective pain are intertwined and that “pain doesn’t happen in a vacuum,” but the starting point for addressing collective pain is to first attempt to address the needs of the individual.[162] Similarly, Mr. Lukuko

[162] Interview: Swartz, 2015.

expressed that by engaging in therapeutic exercises on the individual level, like that of the River of Life, group healing and change gradually begin to happen as an effect.[163]

The last part of the first research question requires a discussion of what is meant by the "intended outcomes" of the reconciliation projects. As mentioned in Chapter 6, the visions for both of the organisations have changed over time to effectively address the changing needs and divisions that exist on the community level. As such, the visions that I identified for each organisation are compiled based on the different visions expressed at different times by different people and in different documents. The vision of the CHP is designed to bring about acknowledgement of the past, a new inclusive narrative to describe the present, and empowerment of communities to build a better future. While the HOM workshops tackle all of those issues, it mainly stresses the roles of individuals and communities, more generally in their vision, by addressing healing of emotional wounds and encouraging positive contributions to society in the future. The differences in visions, similar to the differences in some activities, do not insinuate that one is superior over the other; rather, it provides evidence that visions for community reconciliation organisations can be different, yet still work to achieve some aspects of reconciliation.

Research Question 2: What questions does a TOC framework ask of community reconciliation interventions and how are the processes discursively mapped?

The second research question moved beyond the similarities and differences in community reconciliation projects, and focused on nuances of what the projects looked like when a TOC framework was applied. Before applying a TOC framework, the programme models illustrated in Chapter 6 showed the different steps that were required in the process of working toward each long-term goal. The figures included boxes and arrows; each box had the name of an activity, and the arrows linked one activity to the next activity. The programme models seemed to logically illustrate the progression of each process. Both the CHP and the HOM workshops articulate this step-by-step progression and provide thorough explanations for each activity. The underlying concepts that link the activities, however, were not fully articulated in organisational literature or in the interviews. As mentioned in Chapter 5, I based the research as much as possible on the explanations provided by the organisations, and looked to the literature to find supplemental information regarding the theories and concepts. While both

[163] Interview: Lukuko, 2015.

organisations had intuitive rationales for their process, the underlying theories and concepts needed further explanation. This information is required for a TOC framework.

After applying these concepts to the programme models, and forming a TOC model, the figures shown in Chapter 6 become more complicated. This is because I observed that the application of a TOC framework requires more information from each step. The process moves away from merely describing the activities that link one activity to the next, to one that outlines the short-term, medium-term, and long-term goals, and includes the underlying concepts that are responsible for driving that change from one step to the next. As mentioned in Chapter 1, most community reconciliation projects can explain their programme models with a logical rationale regarding *how* their reconciliation processes work, but often fail to explain *why* the steps progress from one to another. This is true to what I found in this research. The implementation of a TOC model fills this gap by requiring that underlying theories and concepts be explained to link project activities to project goals.

Developing a TOC model also requires extensive background research about the theories and concepts that explain community reconciliation. For example, it is not good enough to mention that creating safe spaces is a crucial step in achieving community reconciliation. Rather, when applying a TOC framework, it becomes necessary to explain the details about concepts like cognitive space and permission and what that means for feelings of safety and comfort. The detailed explanations of every underlying concept and theory mentioned in Chapter 6 show the amount of further research that it needed to build a TOC model. Similarly, it does not suffice to just mention that storytelling is a part of the process of community reconciliation. Rather, it is important to mention that storytelling is a crucial step because of the insight and awareness processes that take place when one tells a story, in addition to the effects storytelling has on cognitive reframing that allows people to see each other differently. Every step in the process requires an explanation of why it is important and what concepts explain the results that happen to move the process forward. A TOC model allows organisations to articulate more than just the logic behind the step-by-step progression, and fully explain the theoretical nature of their projects. This explanation was missing in the cases studied at the onset of this research.

Research Question 3: Is applying a TOC framework a useful tool for understanding community reconciliation projects?

The last question asks whether or not applying a TOC framework is helpful in understanding community reconciliation projects. As discussed in Chapter 4, the TOC framework has been used for the past several years to describe community interventions, especially with relation to the Comprehensive Community Initiatives (CCIs) in the United States. The literature on the successes of using a TOC to explain the CCIs is immense, so going into the research, it was clear that TOC models are helpful when describing interventions. What was not clear, however, was whether it could be applied to a volatile post-conflict context that dealt with communities and individuals in need of reconciliation who had experienced extremely deep, emotion, and physical wounds. Additionally, little-to-no research existed on examples of TOC frameworks applied outside of a Western context.

After conducting this research and seeing the value that a TOC model adds in explaining community reconciliation, I argue that the application of a TOC framework to a community reconciliation programme model is not only helpful, but necessary in reflecting the chaos and complexity that exists when addressing reconciliation in a post-conflict setting. As illustrated in Chapter 6 and as described in previous paragraphs, by applying a TOC framework, the concepts and theories that lie behind the intervention strategies help to articulate why change happens the way it does. Furthermore, I argue that a programme model without an accompanying TOC model is a superficial way to describe the complicated phenomenon of reconciliation. Additionally, a TOC framework leaves room for the explanation of potential negative feedback loops, whereas a simple programme model, as described in Chapter 4, does not.

Using a TOC as a tool for helping understand community reconciliation projects has many benefits. Due to the integrated approach of combining a programme model with a TOC model, and the subsequent theoretical and conceptual information, the TOC framework provides a comprehensive understanding of each project. If too much focus is given on just the programme model, then the focus becomes concentrated on a linear approach that centres on how the project works rather than why the project works, which inhibits successful TOC models to be replicated.

Lastly, I argue that a TOC model is helpful for understanding community reconciliation projects because it provides a powerful communication tool. While no model can perfectly

capture every single complexity involved in a post-transitional justice society, a TOC model provides a good starting point for understanding the processes. A TOC model shows as much complexity as possible of the project implementation without providing too much information. The visual representation of how and why projects progress allows organisations to visually show complicated processes.

Community Reconciliation and Post-Transitional Justice

As mentioned in Chapter 2, this research posits South Africa in a phase of post-transitional justice. Post-TJ is a phase that occurs after the official transitional justice mechanism is completed, but a sense of reconciliation and closure is still lacking. A post-TJ phase is characterised by changing lines of division, post-conflict crime, and an unfulfilled need to addressing the legacies of the conflict. This unfulfilled need of addressing past legacies is especially noticeable because of the insufficient engagement of the TRC in local communities, and the narrow definition of victimhood as prescribed by the TRC.

The case studies reflect this gap left by the TRC by designing their projects to specifically address the characteristics that are prevalent in the post-TJ phase. Chapter 6 examines the varying contexts in which the case studies operate, including generational and class divides, breakdown of community support structures, lasting trauma, a collapse in neighbourhood trust, and post-conflict crime. Beyond just addressing political and racial divides (the main divisions addressed during the actual transitional phase), the post-transitional phase prioritises the aforementioned issues, and this is evident by the activities used by the case studies and their articulation of the short, medium and long term goals.

The CHP, for example, addresses post-conflict crime by explaining the cycle of violence and educating workshop participants on how to put an end to the cycle. Additionally, neighbourhood trust issues come to the forefront of the CHP during the From Contestation to Cooperation activity which builds trust, reduces stereotypes, and allows individuals to understand different perspectives. The CHP also aims to rebuild community support structures by empowering participants to become leaders and facilitators in healing processes in their own communities. The HOM workshops also address the issues that are prevalent in post-TJ and fill the gap left by the TRC by expanding the definition of victimhood to anyone who might be affected either directly or indirectly by the apartheid, not just those who experienced gross human rights violations. The workshops promote personal and community healing through

encouraging participants to experience catharsis; since national healing was prioritised by the TRC, individual and community healing needs were ignored. Subsequently, this unfulfilled need of healing becomes a priority in the post-TJ context and is addressed by the case studies.

Future Research and Project Limitations

While this research provides significant insight into the community reconciliation process by using a TOC framework, there are some areas that can be expanded upon in future research. First, and necessarily foremost, this research should include input from the organisations themselves. While both organisations were very eager to see the findings and to be part of the process, due to outside limitations, getting explicit feedback regarding the TOC framework from the organisations was not possible. Additionally, to encourage as much impartiality as possible, yielding research findings without receiving input from the organisations has its benefits. Having the time and ability for the organisations to fully look through, and add and take away from, the analysis, however, would be highly beneficial for the research.

Next, the projects need to be measured and evaluated before the models can be replicated. Both case studies have had some independent analysis regarding measurement and evaluation of programme goals, but more should be assessed. Due to time and resource constraints, this research did not focus on this measurement and evaluation, but instead on how and why the projects were used.

Further research on TOC models in community reconciliation can also include quantitative analysis, something not included in this research. By applying a TOC framework, measurable indicators can be developed to provide indicators of particular steps and outcomes of the programme. As Weiss suggests, "the measurement of interim markers and long-term outcomes, such as high school graduate rates, employment rates, or crime rates" are perfectly acceptable indicators to incorporate into a TOC design.[164]

Another area for further research can involve how to make the development of a TOC more than just a once-off intervention. The way in which this research was designed, the application of a TOC was a once-off function. This project necessarily precluded the opportunity for long-term work with the organisations, but further collaborative research, in either an

[164] Weiss, Carol H. 1995. "Nothing as Practical as Good Theory: Exploring Theory-Based Evaluation for Comprehensive Community Initiatives for Children and Families" in J. Connell et. al (eds.) *New Approaches to Evaluating Community Initiatives: Concepts, Methods and Contexts*. Washington, D.C.: Aspen Institute. 84

academic or practitioner setting, can reveal more about the use of TOC models over time as community's needs change. The TOC model has vast potential to be more than just a once-off planning tool. In an ideal setting, it becomes a tool for reflection by practitioners regarding what works and what needs to be adjusted or reconceptualised.

Lastly, this research could be conducted in a range of settings. This study only focused on two specifically targeted organisations, and to make larger claims about the applicability of a TOC framework in all community reconciliations would be problematic. Additionally, the two projects studied for this research are similar in nature; other community reconciliation organisations use vastly different strategies and activities. It would be unwise to make assumptions about the use of a TOC framework for the other community organisations without looking at their specific projects and intended outcomes. Thus, it would be worthwhile to examine the applicability for a TOC framework on a broader variety of community reconciliation organisations.

Conclusions

Overall, this research sought to explore the underlying theories and concepts in an attempt to explain the step-by-step processes of two reconciliation-based CSOs in Cape Town. Before embarking on this research, it was evident that while the two case studies had adequately explained activities in place that helped people on their paths to reconciliation, the theories and concepts that link the progression of activities were not articulated in detail. This deeper exploration of the underlying information helps to better comprehend reconciliation processes so that projects can be evaluated and understood in a more effective way.

While the apartheid was driven by national level policies and issues, the conflict also manifested itself on the community level, leading to a severe breakdown in community relationships and inter-community trust. Since much attention was given to reconciliation at the national level, the community-level effects were largely ignored. Subsequently, the progress of reconciliation at the community level has been slow, and CSOs have been given large responsibility for addressing reconciliatory needs. Based on the observation of the two case studies, and information gathered from the literature, I found community level reconciliation to be centred on creating a mutual understanding between individuals, a reconnection of previously disrupted relationships, and the understanding that reconciliation was a process rather than a

product. Based on this understanding, I analysed the activities and processes that the case studies used to work toward creating reconciliation on the community level.

Background research on project mapping and evaluation indicated that the application of a TOC framework to community projects provided helpful information in understanding how the projects worked. Consequently, I attempted to uncover the underlying theories and concepts of the two case studies by applying a TOC framework to the reconciliation-based projects. While a TOC framework has been applied in a variety of community contexts, the application had never fully been explored outside of a western context nor to study post-conflict community reconciliation projects.

Overall, I found that applying a TOC framework to be an extremely useful tool in explaining the theories and concepts that made up the two studies in question. Because the emphasis was previously placed on what activities were involved in reconciliation projects, not why such activities work and how they are linked together, this research provides crucial information that can enhance successful theory development in post-conflict settings. Furthermore, the application of a TOC framework to community reconciliation projects is not only a useful tool, but should be a necessary practice in explaining community reconciliation interventions because of its ability to describe the complicated phenomenon of reconciliation and avoid superficial explanations. With further comprehensive research, this framework has the potential to be used in varying post-conflict contexts not only in South Africa, but around the world.

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